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THE EDITOR'S PAGE

On the Graying of Academe

Recently the graduate students in our department were asked to assess their doctoral programs. Among their comments was the observation that "faculty members should display interest in conducting research, and should be more actively involved in research in order to act as mentors for students (rather than publishing 'opinion' articles and textbooks)." Both as an editor and as a member of a 40-member department, I find that this observation is not far off the mark. Why is it, how did it come to pass, and what if anything should be done about it?

There is no doubt that our faculties of education are aging. Most of us arrived in the late '60s and early '70s full of energy and good ideas, fired by recently completed doctoral programs and ready to create the new era in education. We could teach our classes, guide several graduate students, raise families, and do research. Those were heady times. Then slowly we got older; the pressures changed; we accepted more responsibility in the administration of our institutions and their programs; there didn't seem to be as much help around; we didn't have as much time to read and keep up. So, like squirrels in winter, we began to live off the seeds of our stored experience. Put in its best light, we accepted the life of the sage. This would have been fine except that there was no one coming behind us to keep our earlier activity alive. New people were not being hired so the character of the community became more reflective.

Of course there were significant exceptions to this, none of whom I will name for fear of missing some, but my experience on grant adjudication committees, attendance at conferences, and work on the editorial boards of two major Canadian journals echoes the students' claim that the preference is to write about research rather than to do it.

Should something be done about it? In some respects it is part of the natural process of aging that prompts us to be more reflective, to become more philosophical about the passing stream of educational thought. Moreover, the rise and fall of central or key ideas which seemed so promising in their time but yielded little in the long run encourages cynicism among graying researchers. (Whatever happened to open classes, direct to indirect teaching ratios, advanced organizers, cross-pattern crawling, in-basket tests, differentiated staffing?)

Recent issues of *University Affairs* and the *CAUT Bulletin* warn me that things are about to change. Where once I could quickly read from economics to engineering without finding an interesting position for the graduating educational researcher, now I see many opportunities. The influx of these new people into our faculties of education is going to provide the energy and creativity that will stimulate a resurgence of research.

I don't want to leave the impression that the retreat into reflection that characterizes my generation is without merit. We are producing a change in the nature of educational research. Whereas 20 years ago many of us viewed research as being *about* education with the goal of informing practice, now with the wisdom of experience we encourage our graduate students to make research *part* of education by acknowledging the reciprocal relation between research and practice.

T.O.M.

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The Image of Community¹

Teachers develop and use a special kind of knowledge in their teaching which has been defined as personal practical knowledge. Clandinin (1985) proposes a conception of personal practical knowledge as one in which theoretical and practical knowledge are blended by the personal background and characteristics of the teacher and experience in particular situations. The concept of "image" is one form of personal practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1985). In this article I describe how an image embodies the personal and professional experiences and is expressed in classroom practices by two interns who participated in Alberta's Initiation to Teaching Project implemented in 1985. Data were collected through field notes recorded on site during the visits to classrooms, notes collected and recorded during planning activities and other activities in which the intern participated, and interviews held with each intern throughout the time of the study from September 15, 1986 to June 15, 1987. What this study suggests is that not only do images function in the lives of classroom teachers, but that an image such as "classroom as community" can be played out differently in classroom practices and teacher talk.

Introduction

There has been a recent upsurge of interest in research on teacher thinking (Clark & Peterson, 1986; Clark & Yinger, 1977). One focus in research on teacher thinking has been on the special kind of knowledge teachers develop and use in their classroom practice. This knowledge has been referred to as "practical knowledge" (Elbaz, 1981) or "personal practical knowledge" (Clandinin, 1985). These researchers assume that teachers know, use, and develop personal practical knowledge in their teaching.

The idea of "image" is one form of personal practical knowledge, the name given to this special knowledge of teachers (Clandinin, 1985; Elbaz, 1981). Images act as the coalescence to combine and form a whole of all the experiences within a teacher. An image has an emotional and moral coloring and links a person's educational life, professional life, and his or her personal, private life.

The research reported here furthers ongoing lines of research by focusing on how teacher practical knowledge is developed and expressed in an internship experience.

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Statement of the Problem

Ongoing research (Clandinin, 1983, 1985, 1986; Connelly & Clandinin, 1985, 1986; Elbaz, 1981) offers constructs of teacher practical knowledge as it is expressed in classroom and school situations. This study builds on ongoing research by focusing on how teachers' practical knowledge is developed and expressed in the teaching assignments as experienced by two interns. The research purposes for the study were (a) to describe the personal practical knowledge of two interns in the Initiation to Teaching Project, and (b) to conceptualize the development of personal practical knowledge in the interns.

Review of Related Literature

During the last decade, some researchers who have been studying teaching have focused on teacher thinking processes (Clark & Peterson, 1986; Clark & Yinger, 1977, 1979; Peterson & Clark, 1978) and the development of teacher practical knowledge (Clandinin, 1985, 1986; Elbaz, 1981). In order to set this study into the context of the above mentioned research, a brief review of several key concepts is presented. The key concepts to be reviewed are personal practical knowledge, expressed as teachers' classroom images, and the narrative method of inquiry.

Concept of Personal Practical Knowledge

The concept of personal practical knowledge embodies a dialectical view of theory and practice (Clandinin, 1983, 1985). In a dialectical view theory and practice are seen to be inseparable; practice is seen as theory in action and theories are modified and changed according to what occurs in the practical world of the classroom.

The concept of personal practical knowledge is discussed in detail elsewhere (Clandinin, 1985, 1986; Connelly & Clandinin, 1985). The following is a brief summary as stated by Clandinin (1985).

The "personal" is that knowledge which participates in, and is imbued with, all that goes to make up an individual. The personal aspect of the knowledge includes the experiences and knowledge each teacher holds which has arisen from the circumstances, actions, reactions, perceptions and interpretations that the person "knows." This personal knowledge can be discovered in both the actions of the person and under some circumstances, by conversation. (p. 362)

By knowledge in the phrase personal practical knowledge is meant:

that body of convictions, conscious or unconscious, which have arisen from experience (intimate, social and traditional) and which are expressed in a person's actions. The actions in question are all those acts that make up the practice of teaching, including planning and evaluation. (p. 362)

The "practical" in knowledge comes from the work of Elbaz (1981), whose conception of practical knowledge is a broad definition incorporating three terms: rule of thumb, practical principle, and image. Of interest to this study is the concept of image defined by Elbaz as the level at which the teacher's feelings, values, needs, and beliefs combine to form brief metaphoric state-

ments of how teaching should be and marshals experience, theoretical knowledge, and school folklore to give substance to these images. Clandinin (1983, 1985) expands the concept of image to encompass the knowledge which resides at the nexus of the theoretical, the practical, the subjective, and the objective in a teacher's life. An image links a person's educational life, professional life, and his or her personal, private life and is permeated with emotional and moral coloring, in part derived from the experiences from which it originates. In this study the image of "classroom as community" becomes a magnet around which significant elements of experience were attracted and shaped in the lives of two interns.

Narrative Method of Inquiry

The narrative method of inquiry in the study of teaching attempts the reconstruction of classroom meaning in terms of narrative unities in the lives of classroom teachers. The narrative has to do with telling stories, in this case telling stories about ourselves as teachers. What is meant by unity is the "union in a particular person, in a particular place and time of all the person has been, and undergone in the past" which results in a "meaning-giving account and interpretation or story which focuses on the ways classroom actions are meaningful to the individual" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1986, p. 15). The narrative unity focuses on the specific, concrete events in a teacher's life which have been meaningful in that person's teaching history and have provided the teacher with an interpretation and understanding of his or her classroom actions. The data, collected over an extended period of time, tend to take on the form of a story which focuses on the ways classroom actions are meaningful to a teacher or, in this study, to an intern.

Research Design and Method

The research was conceptualized in terms of a particular notion of the relationship between theory and practice referred to as a "dialectical" (McKeon, 1952) relationship between theory and practice and between researcher and intern. Rather than a dichotomy or separation, the theory and practice inform one another and similarly the researcher and interns shared meanings about the classroom milieu.

The intent of the dialectical research perspective is to come to understand how individual teachers understand their teaching in their own teaching situations (Janesick, 1982; Nespor, 1986). The research methods employed bring together the interest and purposes of both the teacher and the researcher (Elbaz, 1981). Teachers (interns) are viewed as persons who create meaning and value for the teaching actions in their own situation. The principal research activities are described under the following subheadings.

Negotiation of Entry

In the case of the first intern Ms. M,² initial discussions were held regarding participation in the research project in the late summer of 1985 with personnel in the superintendent's office of a school board. A written proposal was submitted, followed by a planning meeting with school board personnel. A school which had submitted a proposal under the Initiation to Teaching

Project for an intern to begin work September 1, 1985 was chosen as the research site. The principal, school staff, and the intern were willing to be participants in the study.

The intern, a stranger to the researcher, showed some hesitancy in the initial stages of the research. She appeared shy and uncertain as to what expectations were held for participation in the research study. Time and effort were taken to establish rapport and negotiate the methods of research to be conducted. After the first visits and interviews, the typescript of both data sources were shared with the intern on a regular basis. Her responses and reactions to the data were included by the researcher in discussions during subsequent visits and interviews.

In the second year of the study (1986-1987), entry into the school was negotiated directly with the intern Mr. K and confirmed by the principal, the research officer, and superintendent at the school board level. This intern had worked as the researcher's assistant in a project during the summer, so that rapport was well established when data collection began in September 1986. Again, typescripts of field notes and interviews were shared on a regular basis with the intern. Responses were acted upon in later discussions.

The Interns

Two interns, Ms. M and Mr. K, participated in the two-year study. Ms. M was a secondary school teacher with a specialization in English. During the research period (September 26, 1985 through May 15, 1986), she taught mathematics, social studies, science, and language arts to a variety of classes in grades 7 through 9.

Rather than being assigned to a single supervising teacher, Ms. M worked closely with the teacher who was the specialist in the subject she had been assigned to teach. Moves from subject to subject and grade to grade occurred at regular two-month intervals, with the exception of several language arts classes to which she was assigned for the full year. The supervising teachers had established different classroom policies and thus the intern found herself working to establish relationships with several supervisors and their classes. In time Ms. M established herself as one of the team with her own classroom policies which students came to know and respect. A strong central school policy reflecting a common religious belief system helped make the intern's and supervising teachers' philosophies related to learning and teaching more congruent than might otherwise have been the case.

Mr. K was an elementary route teacher with a specialization in social studies. During the research period (September 15, 1986 to June 15, 1987), he taught a split grade 4 and 5 with most of his time spent with the grade 5 students. This intern taught physical education, mathematics, science, social studies, and language arts.

Mr. K spent the entire year of his internship in the grade 4/5 classroom with one teacher. The teacher and intern established a close working relationship, and as the year progressed Mr. K. gradually took over the class while the supervising teacher worked individually with those students who needed special attention. I observed many instances of collaboration: plan-

ning of lessons, planning units, selecting curriculum resources, and preparations for parent-teacher interviews with the accompanying report card comments. Although not bound by a common religious philosophy, the intern and supervising teacher had clarified their philosophies regarding teaching and learning through a mutual sharing of ideas and competencies over an extended period.

Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher employed a variety of methods to aid in the work of collecting data and conceptualizing the development of practical knowledge. First, field notes were recorded on paper on site and later dictated onto tapes to be typed as a series of ongoing entries. These notes were descriptions of the classroom sessions observed by the researcher during the half-day visits to the classroom(s) where the intern was teaching. No predetermined foci for the field notes were consciously used in the attempt to create a meaning-giving account of the classroom events in collaboration with the intern. Notes were also kept during feedback interviews (intern responding to field notes collected by the researcher), planning sessions, or other activities in which the intern was engaged during the observation period.

Second, interviews were a major data source for this study. The questions posed by the researcher during the interviews were formulated to have the intern further elaborate, extend, and interpret events recorded in the field notes and statements made in previous interviews.

At the end of the study, field note data and interview data were read and reread. Notes were kept on words and/or phrases expressing ideas around themes or concepts which appeared regularly in the data. The field note and interview data were divided into content units under headings such as responsibility, "minded" practice, validation, and territoriality. A further probing of the raw data from the field notes and interview transcripts and a perusal of descriptive phrases identified as important to each intern led to the identification of practices and words which seemed to come together into what appeared to be images which each intern held. One image which appeared to act as the coalescence or magnet around which significant elements of experience were attracted in the lives of both interns was that of community.

A narrative account summarizing the highlights and significant events and statements from each visit and interview was prepared for each intern. These accounts, up to 35 pages in length, not only provided feedback on the researcher's interpretation of the observations and interview transcripts, but also advanced tentative ideas about the images each intern held. The accounts were mailed to each intern with the invitation to respond to the tentative interpretations and further clarify their perspectives. The interns responded to the narrative accounts and their responses were blended into this account.

Findings and Discussion

Findings

One image that appeared to be particularly pervasive and important to both the interns' personal practical knowledge was a sense of community. To describe this as one image is probably misleading, for it is probably composed of a number of separate images. The image "community" appeared to be rooted in different experiential origins for each intern. At the level of practice similar goals were apparent as the images were expressed in words and actions.

For the purposes of this study, the image of community speaks of a group of people bounded in space and time with common interests and values. The individual in the group is expected to share, communicate, and participate with others in ways understood and acceptable to the group. Members of a community share ideals which help them live together in an environment of harmony and well-being. For Ms. M the overarching ideals she advocated were those of caring and nurturing (Noddings, 1984). Mr. K was more interested in establishing a democratic-style classroom where equal participation and getting along with others in the group were highly favored ideals.

In the interviews no mention of community appeared, nor did the concept appear in the researcher's field notes. Rather, the thoughts and aspirations expressed by the interns in the interviews, as well as actions taken in the classrooms, led the researcher to propose that an image of classroom as community might be held by the interns as part of their personal practical knowledge. As Schön (1983) states, personal practical knowledge is "knowing-in-action," tacit and often unarticulated.

Ms. M

Ms. M never directly talked about community, nor did the actual word appear in the field notes which described her actions in the classroom. Rather, the thoughts expressed in interviews, as well as actions taken in the classes, led the researcher to speculate that the concept of community was an image implicitly held by Ms. M as part of her personal practical knowledge.

An exchange in one of the initial interviews began to suggest an image of community.

I: The three boys slammed in; you made them go back and come in with a little more dignity. What was going on in your mind when you did this? You immediately responded and you came up with this tactic from your own background experience.

Ms. M: Really, it is more personal than that—like that is not the way you enter into anywhere. Like you know, you walk in like civilized people and that's the way it has to be done even if you are at school ... you know, where you are with your friends and you are supposed to have fun and things. I think it is my own background—like there is a way of doing things and let's carry that over into all aspects of life. (Interview October 9, 1985)

In the interviews and actions in the classroom Ms. M advocated a strong sense of appropriate behavior and norms regarding "civilized" behavior in

her classroom. A sense of being “in” or “out” of—of belonging or being banished from—the community if unwilling or unable to follow the norms of behavior was observed and discussed on numerous occasions. The following instance is an illustration of this. A disciplinary measure, implemented by Ms. M in the case of several disruptive students, was the use of banishment from the classroom. In her words, “I said starting tomorrow, you will find a desk in the hallway. You come in and listen to the instructions and then you are out in the hallway” (Interview October 30, 1985). The researcher observed this action in practice and noted that the disruptive students became “nobody” to Ms. M and ceased to exist as part of the community until students approached her on an individual basis to be reinstated into the classroom.

Ms. M displayed a continual respect and concern for her students. She insisted on standards of communication, indicating politeness and consideration for one another. As stated, “I refuse to let my kids tell each other to shut up ... they are quite prone to giving each other put-downs. They got a lecture on that from me” (Interview March 7, 1986). This notion was elaborated:

If I am asking them to be quiet and there are still a couple of people who are talking and a couple of people doing things that I just asked everyone else to stop, and everyone else has stopped except these two or three, then I say—like it is funny—“I don’t think that there is anyone in this class who is superior to anyone else, but obviously a few of you do and I don’t understand why.” When they realize, yes, I am not any more special than anyone else in this class, they stop talking. (Interview August 7, 1986)

Concerns for student privacy, a sensitivity to their feelings, and a need for being perceived to be “OK” were noted on several occasions. In a note-passing incident, Ms. M informed her students: “I have respected your privacy in that I haven’t read a note and thrown it in the garbage. From now on, any note I catch being passed is going to be read out loud. I know now that the next note that I catch I am going to have to read.” The moral dimension to the image of community could be heard as she continued, “But if they are talking about other students, I don’t think that’s quite appropriate to read out loud.”

A particularly stressful incident occurred when Ms. M caught a student cheating during an examination. Ms. M chose to deal with the matter privately by speaking with the student, informing the principal and parents, and leaving the responsibility to the student to decide on the consequences and make amends. The student confessed her indiscretion and returned to class the next day. The intern proudly informed the interviewer,

It was difficult to face this student the next day. The other kids, though, didn’t treat her any differently. She hasn’t become withdrawn or depressed. We tried to handle it internally. We didn’t get her on the defensive by saying, I caught you cheating, nor did we accuse her. The parents apologized for her behavior and let’s hope it doesn’t happen again.

Again, the image of community appears to be implied in the way the intern resolves the incident and understands the event. The student returns

to the safe arms of the community after acknowledgment of stepping outside the acceptable boundaries of behavior held for the classroom community. The student continues to belong and act as a participating member of the community.

Mr. K

Early in the interview in which the nature of the classroom was discussed, Mr. K summed up his position by stating: "I want a democratic-style classroom; one in which 'one would get as much student input as possible,' everyone has an even break in what they are trying to do" (Interview October 29, 1986); "where getting along with each other is important" (Interview November 3, 1986); and a "friendly-type atmosphere prevails" (Interview October 15, 1986).

A critical attribute of the community Mr. K was attempting to fashion had to do with thinking, asking questions, and "learning to question authority." This theme appeared in the interviews on numerous occasions. "I encourage them to keep questioning—like the authority thing. That's what I'd like to do. At the same time, they have to accept it [authority] and it's very hard. Maybe I'm trying to do too much at once, but I'm just working with it now. I get this chance to practice" (Interview October 15, 1986).

This image of community found expression throughout the study as is evidenced in the following excerpts.

I continue to ask probing questions, just to get a little more information and so they'd [students] stop and think ... I'm trying to help students question authority ... I mean in a subtle sense in that they would question things within their own minds. They know their roles, but at the same time there are some things they should question ... if there's something that seems wrong to them, well then, they can voice that. (Interview October 22, 1986)

I want children to have national pride as Canadians. I want them to question authority. Books aren't always right and encyclopedias may be out of date a bit. They [the students] can begin to pick up on some of these things. I also encourage them to pick out inconsistencies in what they hear. (Interview June 15, 1987)

The field notes provided the evidence that the beliefs espoused by Mr. K were lived out in action. The use of questioning as an instructional strategy, the habit of answering a student's question with another question, the encouragement of thinking about an issue from various perspectives were actions recorded in the observations during the 10-month reporting period.

Discussion

The construct of the image of community was used as a conceptual device to give an account of the practices and distinctiveness of each intern's experience in the first year of teaching. Various dimensions make up the construct of image. Aspects of image include the moral dimension, the emotional dimension, the private and educational dimension, and the origin of the image in the coalescence of diverse experience. The conceptualization of the image of classroom as community is presented from two different experi-

ential origins. One perspective appears to combine and form a whole from a set of deep religious beliefs, while the second image coalesced from the ideals formed in a political context.

The construct of image links together, both in its origin and in the function it serves, an individual's personal, private, and professional educational experience. The image of community has its origins in the intern's private experiences and understanding of what his or her own community is. The image was expressed in how the classrooms were organized, how students were encouraged to relate to one another, how discipline measures were exercised, and how the interns related to the students themselves.

Ms. M's classroom was set up in what might be termed an authoritarian style in which she presented the class with a seating plan. The enforced seating arrangement came about as part of the consequences meted out to students who would not cooperate and settle down to work. As well, they lost privileges including washroom breaks, getting materials from hallway lockers, and borrowing from one another. They had "only themselves to blame for what had happened." In contrast, Mr. K had students decide how they might pick their seats. They decided on the use of random numbers as being the fairest way to assign seats in a large U-shaped formation.

In both classrooms students were encouraged to work together. In Ms. M's community, the relationship was based on respect and standards of communication which reflected a politeness and consideration for each other. Students were discouraged in the use of put-downs, rude language, or hurtful teasing and joking. Mr. K emphasized participation and involvement in activities by all students. He worked hard to create a friendly atmosphere and stressed the need to cooperate and get along in the classroom discussions, projects, group activities, and the game situations employed in the physical education classes. He wished for all students to be perceived as equal and expressed some annoyance when individuals did not wish to participate with particular others on a task or class project.

Several drastic disciplinary measures were undertaken by Ms. M when several students continued to be disruptive. The intern dealt with them by informing them of their loss of privileges and becoming "nobody." As she described it, "I tell them, you listen to instructions and you do not participate in any activities that we are doing. Once you have your instructions, you go out in the hallway. There is a desk out there and you work in the hallway. It's my decision when I let you back in the class."

In contrast, major disciplinary actions were not observed in Mr. K's classes. On occasion students were sent to the sideline to "cool off" during a physical education class, but then were incorporated into the group's activities a short while later. When classroom noise reached a level considered to be unacceptable, a small handbell was rung, students stopped their activity on this cue, and Mr. K would calmly discuss the nature of his concern with them. Routines and expectations had been set at the beginning of the year and were in evidence until the end of the year.

In relating to her students, Ms. M expressed concern with the need to model appropriate behavior so that "hopefully they [the students] would set

some standards for themselves.” A recurring theme—concern for the students’ well-being—was evident in daily interaction with individual students and in comments: “I see them as people. I treat them as people. I keep telling them, I’m going to treat you like people and you have to treat each other like people.” Her words and actions reflected the primary aim of the “one-caring” who Noddings (1984) describes as one who strives “to preserve and enhance caring in herself and in those with whom she comes in contact” (p. 172). In turn, one aspect of Mr. K’s philosophy had to do with his belief that teachers need to “know” their students in order to become (or be) effective teachers. He became better acquainted with his students, along academic and social dimensions, by encouraging them to talk to him, being interested in their interests, and providing written and oral feedback to students in their daily journals. In his actions and comments he indicated that he believed “that working from their [students’] world” was where a teacher needed to start. He continued to feel a great sense of responsibility for his students because “they’re still dependent on adults and not quite as independent as I sometimes expect.”

As suggested earlier in the expression of images, both in practice and words, a moral dimension was apparent. Images were not neutral; they suggested a better or worse situation. In part, the moral dimension emerged from the experiences where it had its origin and in the person’s judgment of the experience. In the case of Ms. M, the incident of cheating in her classroom presented her with several moral dilemmas: how to address the student, how to inform the parents, how to allow the student to make amends without being labeled as “cheat” by the other students, how to help the student face the consequences without a major psychological hurt. In reflecting on the incident, Ms. M continued: “It was difficult to face this student the next day. The other kids, though, didn’t treat her any differently. She hadn’t become withdrawn or depressed. We tried to handle it internally ... we didn’t get her on the defensive ... let’s hope it doesn’t happen again.”

Besides discussing the issue of cheating with the student, Ms. M provided a model. To support her moral ideals, she needed to show herself to be caring and ethical. Hence she was not content to simply enforce rules. As she confronted the student, she began by attributing the best possible, rather than worst, motives to the student and then proceeded to explain to the student “that I cannot allow you to cheat because it isn’t fair and right to do so.” Ms. M did not need to resort to punishment because the rules were not sacred to her. What mattered the most was the student and how the student would in the future approach the moral problem of cheating as a result of the interaction with her. Ms. M expressed the hope that the student would learn to be ethical in her statement, “let’s hope it doesn’t happen again.”

Mr. K’s commitment to the need to question authority found him facing the moral dilemma as to how far this activity might be taken in the lives of his young students. His comments reflected the perplexing situation: “I like to encourage them [the students] to think of questions, but there are times when you just want them to do it because you have only so much time.” In his quest to help students learn to question authority, he wanted the actions to

be carried out within acceptable parameters in a “subtle sense” in which students “know their roles” yet speak out when “something seems wrong.” He was trying to sort out the dilemma he faced between creating a “democratic-style” class in which he went with the “flow” and “allowed freedom ... for the [students] to explore on their own” and the need to meet expected achievement levels for each grade and the testing requirements.

Mr. K’s moral dilemma relates closely to Noddings’ (1984) concept of moral education in which a commitment to caring as the ethical ideal “involves a duty to promote skepticism and noninstitutional affiliation” (p. 103). He seems to recognize that in a deep sense no nation can be truly moral. A nation can only capture in general terms what caring, moral individuals would like to have happen in well-described situations. Laws, manifestos, and proclamations are limited and they may support immoral as well as moral actions. Only the individual can be called to moral behavior. Mr. K’s attempts to have his students question authority fits into the moral dimension of his image of community.

As well, an emotional dimension of the image of community was apparent in the oral expressions and in the expression of actions in the classroom. As part of her approach to developing a supportive classroom, Ms. M set behavior standards for her students. Students were not allowed to tell each other to shut up. Students were expected to defend one another and demand respect from each other. Disruptive students were banished from the classroom and became nobody until they decided to change their behavior.

In speaking about his democratic classroom, Mr. K made much use of the words fair, equal, and responsibility. He wished to create fair classroom in which “everyone has an even break in what they are trying to do ... everyone gets equal attention” and is “given their chance.” At the end of the year, his image of a democratic community became more apparent in his comments during the final interview (June 17, 1987): “I’d like to set up a democratic classroom where the onus and responsibility is on them. They [the students] make the rules and hopefully [I will be able] to use the teachable moment and direct peer pressure appropriately.”

Finally, the origin of the image of community influences each intern’s personal and professional expressions in talk and practice. It is beyond the scope of this article to speak in depth about the origins of each intern’s image of community. It is, however, necessary to acknowledge that the source of each intern’s concept of community would be different, because the image acts as the coalescence to combine and form a whole of an individual’s experiences. No two individuals experience the world in the same way.

In the case of Ms. M, her image of community emerged from her religious roots and created a congruence between her professional and personal lives. In her classes there existed a sense of “being in” or “being out.” As long as the code of behavior and classroom norms were followed, a student was “in,” but willful or unintentional neglect of these standards of behavior or a perceived lack of commitment led to banishment until she decided the individual might return to the group. In class discussions issues were occasionally referred to a higher authority for resolution. This authority was that vested in the school

philosophy as it was expressed in religion classes, school rules, the values held by parents in the larger community, and in the belief system of the intern herself.

As indicated earlier, Mr. K was a social studies major with background preparation in political science, history, and related social issues. In his classroom he consistently encouraged his students to “think about the way things are and the way they could or should be.” Social critique, although expressed in a limited way, appears to be a way of life for Mr. K. His beginning attempts at encouraging his students to question authority and his striving for more equality in the life of his classrooms are forms of social criticism. A social studies educator is encouraged to teach students to question the status quo in society, because the principle of becoming a responsible citizen includes the civic competence of critical questioning of authority. Competent citizenship implies the concept of citizens as social critics (van Manen, 1980).

This intern also had a history of involvement in politics at the provincial and local levels. The political roots of the image of community gave rise to the concepts of equality, involvement, cooperation, fairness, and sharing. For Mr. K a democratic orientation functioned at tacit and explicit levels of awareness as he talked about his role in the teachers’ organizations and his elaboration of plans to create a positive atmosphere in his classroom. I can only speculate that Mr. K’s image of community may have emerged from his training as a social studies educator and his involvement in provincial and local politics.

Conclusion

The development of personal practical knowledge as expressed in the first-year teaching situation as experienced by two interns in the Initiation to Teaching Project is the focus of this study. The work drew heavily on Elbaz’s (1981) concept of practical knowledge, Clandinin’s (1985) concept of image, and Connelly and Clandinin’s (1985, 1986) concept of personal practical knowledge.

The concept of personal practical knowledge embodies a dialectical view of theory and practice. Theory and practice are viewed as inseparable; practice is seen as theory in action and theories are informed by the conditions existing in the classrooms. This personal practical knowledge is centrally connected in what Clandinin (1985) terms image. Images act as the coalescence of experiences and link a person’s educational professional life and his or her personal private life.

In this study of the development of personal practical knowledge in the first year of teaching, the image of classroom as community became the nucleus around which significant elements of past experiences were attracted and shaped in the classroom lives of two interns. The conceptualization of images developed in this study contributes to an understanding of the nature of personal practical knowledge that differs from that usually considered to be knowledge. This personal practical knowledge is an emotional and moral knowledge; a personal and professional knowledge; a past and present knowledge; and, embodied in this study, in the image of classroom as

community. The image is expressed differently in classroom practices and in the lives of the students in the two classrooms.

What this study suggests is not only that images function in the lives of classroom teachers, but that the existence of an image such as classroom as community can be played out differently in classroom practices and teacher talk. In this study, the image of community as held by two interns was expressed differently in how the classroom was organized, how students were encouraged to relate to one another, how discipline measures were exercised, the values each intern emphasized in the classroom, and how the interns related to the students themselves.

Note

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2. Pseudonyms are used throughout to protect the anonymity of the participants.

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April: A Case Study in the Use of Guided Reflection

This article reports the findings from that part of a recently completed study which focused on the use of critical incident analysis and guided reflection with preservice teachers in a one-year after-degree BEd program. The case study approach has been employed to demonstrate how, in one instance, critical incident analysis has been used to assist one preservice teacher to derive meaning from her experiences in the teaching practicum. The results of this case study analysis support the literature that contends the use of guided reflective journal writing is a useful process in assisting the development of "teacher." The author further suggests that there is need for preservice teachers to develop professional relationships with "metaguides," or mentors, who are familiar with the techniques involved with guided reflection. Such relationships more readily enable preservice teachers to derive meaning from experiences in classrooms and assist in the integration of learnings.

Introduction

Throughout the history of teacher education, discussion has focused on the impact of the student teaching practicum on the developing perspective of "teacher." The vast body of literature on the development of the teacher appears to be consistently of the opinion that the teacher preparation process is a period of growth from the perspective of student toward the perspective of teacher (see, for example, Davis, 1981; Doyle, 1979; Edgar & Warren, 1969; Friedman, 1982; Goodlad, 1982; Hart & Adams, 1986; Reeves & Kazelskis, 1985; Tabachnick, Zeichner, Densmore, & Hudak, 1983; Waller, 1932). This literature further suggests that the practicum or practice teaching experience is highly influential in this growth process (Caruso, 1977; Egan, 1982; Friedman, 1982; McIntyre, 1983; Parkay, 1980; Zeichner, 1980).

Supporters of this notion of the importance of the teaching practicum take the position that these experiences have an impact on the attitudes, values, and beliefs of preservice teachers (Wodlinger, 1985). Hoy and Rees (1977) claim that, with continued exposure to the reality of the classroom, the becoming teacher's attitudes shift toward those of the associate teacher. If, for example, the associate teacher assumes an authoritative stance (Hoy & Rees, 1977), then the becoming teacher shifts to a greater custodial attitude toward the management of student behavior. Moreover, when the practicum is highly oriented toward evaluation, as the typical practicum

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appears to be, the preservice teacher's attitudes tend to be emulations of the evaluator's perspectives (Edgar & Warren, 1969). If such is the case, then this is strong evidence for ensuring that preservice teachers consciously obtain meaning from practicum experiences and events.

In his study of the influences of field experiences on the attitudes and behaviors of student teachers, McIntyre (1983) recognizes the emotional impact of in-school experiences and concludes that "it is important to understand how the people and experience itself affect the preservice teacher" (p. 4).

To continue this argument, Zeichner (1980) presents a position that the preservice teacher is not a *tabula rasa*, readily accepting the wisdom and knowledge of significant others, but a participant who takes an active role in professional socialization. The developing teacher does exert some control over professional socialization, "even if only to a limited degree" (p. 33), and "it is still the student teacher who largely controls the activities of supervision" (p. 35). Such control begs the deritualizing of the teaching practicum in order that the becoming teacher may understand the meanings that emerge from the experiences in the classroom and grow with that understanding (Zeichner, 1980, p. 35). This development of meaning is most crucial in acquiring control over one's learning and in identifying one's professional stance.

Reflection and the Preservice Teacher

The process of reflection is a deliberate, purposeful activity that allows an individual to contemplate behaviors and events and reactions to them. More than that, reflection is a natural process that facilitates the development of future action from the contemplation of past and/or current behavior (Schön, 1983). The reflective process assists student teachers in deriving meaning from their experiences. Nystrand and Wiederspiel (1977) claim that through the reflective process, especially when one is writing about matters of personal importance, "the writer is able to break through to new constructions and new meanings for experience" (p. 105).

Schön (1988) speaks to the role of "reflective transformation" in attending to and drawing from experiences in the classroom. Through the use of reflective "stories" the developing teacher is able to attend to the derived meanings of classroom-based experiences and the underlying assumptions and beliefs that serve as the framing mechanisms for those experiences.

The need for preservice teachers to be engaged in reflective activity is apparent when one realizes that each enters the preparation program with a well-developed set of beliefs and perspectives about teaching and teachers, learning and learners. Evidence exists for the claim that the associate teacher has a major influence over changes to these perspectives during the practicum process. In his review of the literature, Zeichner (1980) discovered a plethora of studies pointing to preservice teacher attitude and behavior shifts toward those of the associate teacher and some evidence that such influence extends into the induction period, the first year or so of the inservice career.

Given that this influence does exist, it is imperative that the preservice teacher explore experiences in the practicum and derive personal meaning from those experiences. This assertion is even more valid when viewed from the perspective that the preservice teacher is developing mental schema of the roles of teacher and learner in the context of the classroom. These schema, I speculate, develop from the preservice teacher's principles and beliefs about these and other aspects of the schooling process, gained through experiences as student and through experiences in theory classes in the faculty and in the practicum classrooms. Given the influence of these experiences, there is a need for the preservice teacher to actively and consciously consider them and examine their import.

The Role of the Metaguide

The role significant others play in this process is crucial. These may be peers, associate teachers, and/or faculty supervisors. In their discussion of learning metaphors, Forsythe and Haughey (n.d.) introduce the term "metaguide" or the human agent in the learning process who functions as the "universal traveller, who can give feed-back progress, monitor the domain of the journey and assist in goal setting, goal maintaining and the innovation of new goals ... to assist the student in the journey through the domain" (p. 3).

In the context of growth of becoming teachers, the metaguide focuses on the "reflective moment," the juxtaposition of action and thinking about action. The faculty advisor or associate teacher might function as such a metaguide.

Participating in this process of exploration of one's experiences and reflection about those experiences allows the faculty advisor and associate teacher the opportunity to glimpse the world through another's eyes (Nystrand & Wiederspiel, 1977). This is a social relationship, as Kelly (1955) noted: "To the extent that one person construes the construction process of another he may play a role in social process involving the other person" (p. 618).

My position is that the role of the metaguide, whether faculty advisor or associate teacher, is to facilitate the preservice teacher's progress toward an understanding of the meaning of experiences and of his or her reaction to those experiences, in order that the formation of schemata, or frameworks of understanding, may be deliberate and rational rather than nonrational and accidental. My perception of the metaguide's role corresponds with van Manen's (1977) in that it is to assist the preservice teacher in working through the processes of "analyzing, clarifying individual and cultural experiences, meanings, perceptions, assumptions, prejudgments, and presuppositions" (p. 226).

The becoming teacher needs assistance in the interpretation and modification of responses to the realities of the classroom and school in order to explore experience therein and to derive personal meaning. Such assistance, through a combination of coaching and mentoring interventions, attempts to lead the beginning teacher out of the morass of the immediate. The goal of the intervention is to help the teacher develop the more global perspective of

an active player in the developing awareness of the realities of the training experiences that affect his or her professional and personal life.

Reflection and Journal Writing

Nystrand (1977) asserts that language plays “a key role in altering our consciousness,” especially when entering presumably unfamiliar territory as does the preservice teacher when entering the practicum. The use of language through the medium of journal writing is especially valuable in developing new awareness about experience and in constructing new meaning from experiences. As Nystrand (1977) writes: “language, like intelligence, is an instrument of adaptation.... language plays an instrumental role in facilitating the individual’s entry into new experience. It does this by serving to construct and maintain new meanings” (p. 99).

Critical Incident Reflection

Critical incident reflection has been used extensively in situations requiring medical treatment (Richter, McGrath, Humphreys, & Goodman, 1986; Salkovskis, Jones, & Clark, 1986; Sosin, 1983) and in educational problem solving (Berrill, 1986; Heinze, 1987; Stones, 1983). It provides that “personal importance” moment for the student teacher. This process involves the selection of an event or series of events that are of particular significance to the writer and analyzing the experiences and reactions to them. Its use has been shown to be appropriate when focusing on developing learning from one’s experiences in a specific context (D’Arcy, 1987). For example, critical incident reflection is particularly valuable when the preservice teacher reflects on instructional and managerial situations and attempts to understand the flow of events and, more particularly, when developing alternative objectives and strategies.

In summation, many influences operate in the practicum classroom that affect the growth of the preservice teacher. To enhance and direct the growth, to ensure that it is not haphazard or ad hoc, there is need for a metaguide, a significant other, associate teacher or faculty advisor. Such an individual will assist the becoming teacher in reflecting on these influences and in reflecting on the process of reacting to them.

Guided reflection is an important component of this process. Such guided reflection empowers the preservice teacher to assume more direct control over the growth that he or she experiences as a result of being in the practicum classroom.

The Case Study

April participated in a larger project, the details of which are reported in Wodlinger (1988). She is a 24-year-old preservice teacher enrolled in a one-year, after-degree BEd program in a faculty of education that enrolls approximately 215 students annually.

Over the course of her training, April participated in 10 weeks (50 days) of teaching practica. These were divided into two-week blocks, with the exception of weeks one and two. The first experience, at the beginning of October, was an observation period of one day per week for a total of five

days. The second week was an ungraded practice teaching session. The remaining eight weeks of practice teaching were graded by both a faculty advisor and the associate teachers. Each two-week period of evaluated teaching was with a different associate teacher, a different school, and a different faculty supervisor.

April was selected as the subject for this case study primarily because of her interest in reflective journal writing. As a child she had been interested in diary writing but had done little from her teenage years until the present. Her enthusiasm entering the project was at a high level and was maintained throughout the larger project. In this project, I functioned as April's advisor and metaguide. April submitted a critical incident reflection after each week of the practicum.

The Critical Incident Reflection Journal

The critical incident reflective writing required April and her colleagues to focus on an incident of personal importance occurring during the practice teaching session. In her writing, April divided her entry into the following segments:

1. Context. A description of the practicum setting, and in particular the context of the incident.
2. Incident Description. This segment involved relating the events of the incident. In particular, April was asked to focus on antecedents to the incident, behaviors of the actors involved, her behaviors during this time period, and her emotional reactions to those behaviors.
3. Analysis. In the analysis segment of the reflective writing, April was asked to focus on the antecedent events and behaviors and her behaviors, in order to determine if any connections existed. As well, she focused on the rationale for her behaviors and explored her emotional reactions.
4. Learnings. April was asked to discuss personal learnings that arose from her analysis of the incident, the behaviors that occurred, and her reactions to those behaviors. This segment of the writing was designed as a journal mirror through which April could develop and consider alternative courses of actions in the light of her objectives.

Guided Reflection

After each pair of journal entries was reviewed, April and I met, in an informal format, to discuss her experiences and to share the meaning that she gained through reflection. During these individual sessions, also held with other participants in the larger study (Wodlinger, 1988), I attempted to help April to (a) explore her experiences and (b) develop insights that focused on her role as an emerging teacher. In a real sense, I functioned as a metaguide, discussed by Forsythe and Haughey (n.d.), assisting in April's development of schema for being a teacher.

Our interviews were audiotaped and the resultant transcripts used as data for subsequent interviews. In this way, we had a natural linkage between interviews, providing physical as well as conceptual continuity.

It was vitally important that, during our interviews and through my written responses, April focused entirely on her derived meanings from incidents and reactions. To have forced her to accept my meanings would have been dysfunctional. Thus I was careful to avoid making value judgments about April's behavior and that of either the associate teacher or the students. This perspective did not stop me from displaying empathy with April's struggles and anxieties. This support was necessary for her to feel comfortable interacting with me and be open in her discussions and analyses.

In fulfilling my role as metaguide, then, I concentrated on asking questions rather than providing direction, as I wanted April to discover her own meanings and learnings. This approach proved to be difficult at times, as I found myself mentally making judgments and taking positions and at times wanting to share these and indeed to impose these on April. I deliberately took firm control of my reactions and consciously became aware of my behavior when interacting with April.

Findings and Discussion

Of the several distinct themes that emerged from the analysis of April's journal writings, the theme of control, focusing on her perceptions of the teacher as controller and dealing with issues of authority and obedience, was most pervasive. I have focused on this theme because, as may be seen below, April's images of both the student and the teacher revolved around her perceptions of authority and control.

The first of April's journal entries centers on a critical management incident with a male student in a grade 7 music class. Her entry is in three parts. The first part, a description of the episode, provides the reader with some insight into principles held in the concept of teacher as controller. At the end of this entry I have provided my written response. This provides an example of the communication process in which April and I engaged outside the informal interview.

November 30, 1987

Episode

Before we left the regular classroom the teacher told the students that they were to sit in a formation of boy-girl-boy, etc. I didn't understand the reasoning behind making the students sit in this manner but didn't feel it was my place to question the teacher. This was the first time I had been given the responsibility of taking the students to music class by myself. Music was taught by a parent volunteer so the children needed quite a bit of supervision during this period.

Implicit in April's concept of the teacher as controller is the principle that the teacher's policies are not to be questioned. The teacher is the controller of student behavior. Associated with this principle is the perception of herself as student, as evidenced by the comment:

"I didn't understand the reasoning behind making the students sit in this manner but didn't feel it was my place to question the teacher." The following statement confirms her perception of herself as student, through the

intimation that she is being tested much as a student might be tested. “This was the first time ... so the children needed quite a bit of supervision during this period.”

In the episode description there is another principle dealing with the controlling theme.

When we arrived at music, all of the students sat as they had been asked except for two boys. One of them moved when I asked him to but the other boy, P, refused. I was at a total loss as to how to deal with the situation and as a result he and I ended in a battle of wills. I told him in no uncertain terms that he had to move, but he continued to refuse until another boy in the class told him not to be “stupid” and to move when I asked him. He finally moved to the appropriate spot but by this point I felt frustrated, humiliated, and really angry with myself. I knew that I had dealt with the situation badly but I didn’t know what I could have done to make it better.

April sees herself as being in competition with her student for control of the classroom: “I was at a total loss as to how to deal with the situation and as a result he and I ended up in a battle of wills.” At this point another principle dealing with control emerges from the writing—the teacher has the sole responsibility for control of the classroom—“another boy ... told him ... to move when I asked him.” Here April discusses her feelings of frustration, humiliation, and anger, mainly directed toward herself. I would speculate that these feelings are indications of a perceived lack of congruence between what she proposes to happen, according to her overriding concept of the teacher as controller, and what actually does occur. To this point in her interactions with students two principles have been violated: The teacher’s policies are not to be questioned, and the teacher has sole responsibility for control of the classroom.

In the analysis section of her entry, April explores the rationale for her reactions. In doing so, she uncovers yet another principle dealing with control.

Analysis

Looking back on the incident, I am beginning to recognize some of the feelings which prompted my reaction to P. When he refused to do as I had told him to, I felt that my authority was being threatened and as a result I became defensive. I felt that if I gave in to his refusal, it would be a sign of weakness resulting in a loss of power with the entire class. In that split second of his refusal, my back went up and I thought to myself, “I am going to make this kid do as I say, even if it kills me!” As much as I think that my emotional reaction was probably a very normal one, I don’t think that the way I dealt with or expressed my emotions was very productive, either for myself, or for the student.

The implicit principle that April uncovers here states that the teacher must not retreat from policy if students refuse to follow that policy: “I felt that if I gave in to his refusal, it would be a sign of weakness resulting in a loss of power with the entire class.”

Once more the focus on control “at any cost” comes through: “In that split second of his refusal, my back went up and I thought to myself, ‘I am going to make this kid do as I say, even if it kills me!’” This reflection-in-action is interesting in that there are no alternatives generated. Rather, what is displayed is her concern that she was receiving a direct challenge, “my authority was being threatened.”

In the final section of this entry, Learnings, April attempts to understand the reasons for her reaction. In doing so, she reaches a critical point in her thinking about control.

Learnings

I think that when P refused my request to change seats, I should have asked him aside so as not to disturb the rest of the class, and then sat and talked to him for a while. I could ask him why he didn’t want to sit between two girls and shown respect for his feelings by listening and responding to these. After listening to P, I could then explain to him the reasoning behind this seating formation. The problem here was that I didn’t know why it was important for the students to sit in the formation in which they had been asked. I didn’t even agree with the teacher’s request because I knew how uncomfortable it made a lot of the students to sit beside members of the opposite sex. It was therefore difficult for me to explain the logic of this seating arrangement to P.

It is in her discussion of learnings that April takes tentative first steps in “journal thinking” about being teacher. Reflecting on her behavior, she generates alternatives that keep in mind the students’ interests and needs rather than her own. As well, she begins to question the logic of another teacher’s policy. Although she does not make the break from her held position regarding teacher authority, she is becoming more aware of the incongruity between her implicit principles of teacher control and the realities of student behavior.

The following is an excerpt of my written response to April when she submitted her journal to me:

I too find the teacher’s request to be unusual. What possible motive do you think she had? What do you think might have happened, had you asked the teacher for her rationale for this seating arrangement? ... I can understand your feelings of anxiety and vulnerability, during this episode. You were faced with a direct attack on your authority as the teacher. I agree that your reaction to his behavior was a normal one for you, given your current state of preparation as a teacher and your feelings of anxiety being in charge of a classroom so early in your training. How do you think P felt, when he found himself in this confrontation with you? Upon reflection of your interaction with P, you have developed a very clear alternative to the strategy you did use. The key to your behavior, I believe, lies in your comment, “The problem here was that I didn’t know why it was important for the students to sit in the formation in which they had been asked.” That degree of confusion had a great influence on your responding to P. How might you have reduced that degree of uncertainty, before you were faced with the confrontation?

In our subsequent interview, April and I focused on the two questions I posed to her and issues that she brought to the surface. The intent of my questions was to assist April in dealing with:

1. developing a sense of other in her analysis of classroom behavior, and
2. anticipating events that occur in the classroom, so as to avoid unnecessary confrontations.

Our interview lasted approximately two hours.

April's focus on control continues in her January 19 journal entry. The critical incident dealt with at this time centers around another male student whose lack of response to April's attempts to stimulate his activity causes some difficulty. April sets the scene:

January 19, 1988

Episode

I had introduced a new unit and story in language arts to the students the day before K arrived. We had read the story aloud and each of the students had drawn a picture of some sort of "flying machine," as our unit was on airflight. In the class for which K arrived, the students were answering questions related to the story and writing a new ending to it. K sat down in his seat and when I explained to him what we were doing, he simply stared at his closed book and didn't respond. I wasn't sure how much of his reaction was due to lack of understanding (English is a second language for these students) and how much was simply due to a lack of interest. I left him to read the story to himself and he slowly leafed through the pages for a half hour. When I returned and asked him if he had understood the story, he looked up at me but didn't respond. I ended up sitting with him and explaining the entire story aloud and then I asked him to at least try to draw a picture as the others had done. After some hesitation, he eventually drew a nice picture of a helicopter.

April is beginning to grapple with differences in learning abilities among students. It is evident from her reaction to K's lack of response that the student's behavior does not fit her perception of how students ought to learn. Her statement, "I wasn't sure how much of his reaction was due to a lack of understanding ... and how much was simply due to a lack of interest," indicates that she senses something is wrong but is unable to act on this knowledge. She does engage, though, in some speculation toward an understanding.

Analysis

I felt really frustrated in this situation as I didn't seem to know how to get through to K. I feel as if I not only short-changed K, but I short-changed the rest of the class also by making his work easier than theirs. Although K's lack of response didn't anger me, it frightened me because I had no idea why he was acting in such a manner. I think the reason I sat down and told him that whole story was because I had no idea how to help him with his reading (which was obviously poor). His unresponsiveness also made me feel insecure. The thought crossed my mind that maybe he was only not responding so as to see how uncomfortable he could make me feel, and to what lengths I would go

to get something out of him. If I was being tested, I didn't deal with it very well.

April's analysis of the episode appears to be a critical discovery point. Her statements, "it frightened me because I had no idea why he was acting in such a manner" and "I had no idea how to help him with his reading" confirm, for April, that she lacks knowledge in dealing with students who learn differently. Here she is facing a child who does not fit her image of the learner—passive and compliant—and is afraid. K's behavior appears to force April into dealing with herself in her image of the teacher as the "expert" and "in control" and she is found wanting. She then falls back on the concept of teacher as controller, which leads to the speculation that she is interpreting all perceived "inappropriate" behavior in the context of control.

Another interesting observation that arises from her writing is the suggestion that April has a picture of student dynamics that contains an element of competition. Her comment, "I short-changed the rest of the class also by making his work easier than theirs," indicates a perception of students as in competition with each other for gain. This perception does fit into the control perspective.

Learnings

Even in hindsight I am not sure what I could have done to make this a more productive situation for both K and myself. Perhaps I would have been better to explain to K that I was confused as to why he wasn't responding. Because his silence was making me uncomfortable it felt like he controlled the situation. I could have told him that when he was ready to talk he could approach me, and in the meantime just told him the work that he was supposed to do (to catch up with the rest of the class).

April's learnings indicate an opening up of herself, to allowing herself to be more vulnerable: "Perhaps I would have been better to explain to K that I was confused as to why he wasn't responding." Is she preparing herself to take a risk? She certainly is exploring the concept of ownership and responsibility: "I could have told him that when he was ready to talk he could approach me."

The control theme continues in the journal entry of February 19, 1988. It is in this writing that April recognizes a need to focus on being in control and actively seeks help.

February 19, 1988

Episode

One of the students was answering a question and I was prompting him to dig a little deeper and come up with more for his answer. D, who is a rather large child for his age and has a belligerent attitude toward me and the school, interrupted the exchange and "grunted" that there was no more to the answer and I should leave the other students alone. I was so taken aback that at first I didn't know what to do. After a short pause, I just looked at D and in a sarcastic tone said, "Thanks for telling me how to do my job!" He gave me a dirty look, and the discussion continued as before.

Once again April's image of the learner is tested. As yet, evidenced over the course of several months' writing, she is not prepared for a deviation from her perceptions of either the student, "I was so taken aback that at first I didn't know what to do" or the teacher, "Thanks for telling me how to do my job." However, during this episode, April reaches a crisis point.

Analysis

Boy—I really didn't want to write about this episode! I was so angry that I reacted the way I did that I was determined to try and forget about it. But as the days went by and it kept bothering me, I figured that the only way to resolve the issue was to write about it and maybe get some additional insight from your feedback. I am so angry that I allow myself to feel so threatened by students! (something similar to this happened during my first practice teaching session). Am I so insecure that even a twelve-year-old child can make me feel out of control? Oh no—there's that word CONTROL! I struggle so much with my need to feel "in control"—maybe that's what is at the base of this whole incident. I desperately needed to feel like I was not only in control of myself but also in control of the whole group of students around the table. D's comment made me feel as if I was losing control on both counts. I felt as if I was being pushed off a very precarious balance and I therefore felt vulnerable. I rose to his challenge of my authority by becoming defensive. Maybe if I had more self-confidence I would be comfortable sharing a certain amount of control/responsibility with the students, and wouldn't need to feel in total control all of the time. (It takes a lot of energy to be in control all the time.)

In dealing with D, April places herself in a power struggle. D's behavior was challenging indeed but not confrontational. April's response, though, was an overreaction. It is this reaction to D's "grunted" comment that forces April finally to focus on control as an issue.

In the analysis of the incident, April confronts her image of the teacher as controller and authority figure: "I desperately needed to feel like I was not only in control of myself but also in control of the whole group of students around the table." This realization forces April to deal with her need for control—"I struggle so much with my need to feel 'in control,'"—and to focus on dealing with these feelings—"Maybe if I had more self-confidence I would be comfortable sharing a certain amount of control/responsibility with the students."

Learnings

I would have liked to have responded to D by asking him why he thought that there was no more to the answer than had already been given. This reaction would have ended any power struggle before it even began. I'm not sure how best to accomplish a greater sense of self-confidence so as to preclude this type of incident from happening again, but at least now I understand where my reaction was coming from. This process of writing about it has certainly helped me feel more peaceful about my situation. It always amazes me how writing can be so therapeutic! Please share with me any insights you may have about needing to feel "in control" in the classroom. I am really at a loss about whether I should be striving for control, or striving to be able to let go of this need.

April's assessment of what she learned from this experience produces insightful self-discovery, "at least now I understand where my reaction was coming from." Of importance now is her realization that she requires help in dealing with this issue of control, "Please share with me any insights you may have about needing to feel 'in control' in the classroom." She is beginning to reassess her image of the teacher.

In her final focus on control, April appears to be on the road to resolving her dilemma. As her next journal entry shows, she has begun to experiment with new concepts about teacher as controller, a strong indication that she is beginning the process of breaking away from strongly held concepts.

February 24, 1988

Episode

I collected from all students the questions which they had written and randomly chose 5 of these to read aloud to the class. They were to answer each of these in their notebooks as I read them aloud. Once everyone had written answers for the questions, we went through them one by one evaluating the quality of the questions. The students told me what they thought was good or bad about the question and why. Their evaluations were based on how difficult or easy it was to answer the question, and to what degree it forced them to think. I wrote all of these notes on the blackboard and by the time we had finished, there were some recognizable trends in what had come out. I then developed a definition of the term criteria with the class and told them that from their analysis of the questions, they could develop a set of criteria for writing good questions. They came up with about 10 criteria which I wrote on the board and they wrote in their notebooks. To close the lesson I reviewed what we had done and we talked about the fact that the students themselves had basically run the whole lesson, and I as a teacher had simply clarified and organized what they already knew. There was a sense of pride among the students that they had been able to teach themselves.

From April's thoughts in this journal entry may be seen a shift in her image of the teacher. April appears to be discovering that control has different meanings than being directive and authoritarian. Involving students in choice behavior had its obvious benefits: "There was a sense of pride among the students that they had been able to teach themselves."

Analysis

I had such a good feeling after this lesson! The students had controlled and run practically the whole lesson, and I could actually see learning taking place. The content of the lesson was simple but the students were working at a high cognitive level (evaluation) and seemed to feel some "ownership" over their learning. It was such a neat feeling to flow with the students and to tap their resources.

This experience has been truly a valuable learning one for April. She has recognized the students' role in ownership, "the students ... seemed to feel some 'ownership' over their learning" and appears to be coming to an understanding of the role of facilitation in the learning process—"It was such a neat feeling to flow with the students and to tap their resources."

Learnings

I just realized as I write this up that for an entire lesson I was able to hand over control to the students without feeling out of control myself! Wow—what a revelation! Why is it that I didn't feel threatened or afraid by the fact that the students were directing the course of the lesson? I guess because I was controlling the framework of the lesson I felt comfortable allowing the content and the process of the lesson to be controlled by any students. Have I finally discovered the concept of "shared responsibility" in a lesson?

April's coming to understand the benefits of relinquishing control is a critical moment in the developmental process in becoming teacher. She comprehends that her role as facilitator is quite different than her role as controlling teacher, "because I was controlling the framework of the lesson I felt comfortable allowing ... controlled by the students."

There is an even more significant difference in this last journal entry. As will be noticed, April did not report confrontation or challenge. Rather she expressed elation in her interaction with the students, mainly due it seems to the high degree of interactive teaching that she experienced, during which the students contributed significantly to the content in April's framework. This leads to the question of what might have occurred had one or more students challenged April's directions or had not taken the exercise as seriously as they apparently did. Subsequently, her comments about control in this context take on a different meaning than do previous comments. Unfortunately, due to circumstances beyond my control I was not able to follow up this issue with April. My main interest at this point would be to determine how April would now deal with instances of apparent defiance that will inevitably occur even in the interactive mode she now espouses. Although she has a long way to travel in her quest to be a competent teacher, April has made a major discovery about herself and her role.

In summary, when April entered the project, she brought with her clear perspectives of the roles of students and teachers. These perspectives or propositions screened her perceptions of behaviors, both hers and those of her students, in the practicum experience. Analyses of April's journal writings and subsequent discussions with her, following each practicum, suggest that April held the following propositions to be true:

1. The teacher is the sole authority in the classroom.
2. Students are in a position of obedience with regard to the teacher's authority.
3. The teacher's policies are never to be questioned by students.
4. The teacher will not retreat from stated policy.

Then, as she occupied her role as student teacher, April believed that her policies were to be followed without question. These propositions and others formed April's concept of the teacher as controller. April was forced to confront those deeply held views about students and teachers when she experienced student behaviors that challenged them. This confrontation process was formalized through journal writing.

In interviews with April, at which time she and I discussed her views of the practicum experience and her role in it, April's perceptions of herself as a

teacher emerged. There were noticeable changes in these images from the first journal entry and subsequent interview to the last. Toward the end of her practice teaching, April began to see herself still as a controller but in the light of different roles for students. As she discovered, she could gain a degree of security through controlling the framework or context of the lesson, while allowing the students some control over the content and the lesson flow. This, she discovered, provided them with a meaningful sense of ownership and developed some measure of commitment to the lesson.

I believe that these changes were facilitated in part by April's confronting those propositions presented above through journal writing and by my guiding her through the change process. Thus, by the conclusion of her practicum, April had identified that the focus on control was blocking her development to teacher, had addressed the issue of the need for control, and had put into place strategies to deal with the need. Her February 24 journal entry is an indication that, although April had a long way to travel in her journey toward teacher, she had taken a positive step in her dealing with the need for control in the classroom and her concept of teacher as controller.

Three issues arise from this discussion of April's learnings from both her experiences in the practicum classrooms and her journal reflections. The first deals with the level of reflection employed; the second focuses on levels of competence; and the third issue deals with an emancipation process.

April is reflecting at the technical level of reflection (Schön, 1983; van Manen, 1977) in that she is dealing primarily with the issues of student control and management from very much a technical perspective. That she has an egocentric focus in the analysis of her behaviors is indicative of this level of reflective thought. At this stage in her development to teacher, April was naturally more centered on her own behavior and dealing with that behavior and its concomitant beliefs than on the impact of her behavior on others. Although through our written and oral communications I attempted to refocus April's attention and reflective thought to a curriculum focus, my efforts had little impact. Even her final comments about allowing students control were at the rational-technical level.

In order to reflect more often at the curriculum impact level, April will need to become more comfortable with her role and more self-assured about her functioning as teacher. This development may occur naturally, given that in her first few years of inservice teaching she is assisted through her growth and that she continues her reflective analyses of classroom events and the teaching-learning cycle.

As April and I communicated through the journal and through personal interviews, we discussed the idea of "letting go" and allowing students more control of their experiences and hence their learning. Associated with the propositions of control that April took into the classroom were notions about students' abilities to manage their own learning, to be in part self-directed learners. Thus it seemed that propositions about teacher control were based on beliefs about students' abilities to be responsible. By the end of her journal reflections, April appeared to have developed a greater understanding of the need to restructure the learning environment enabling students to exercise

more learning responsibility. However, this understanding must be developed further so that it will become part of April's practical knowledge of teaching and be translated into action.

The question of emancipation is also relevant. In the context of April's situation emancipation is defined, in the Freirean sense (Freire, 1981), as breaking away from preconceived beliefs and values that tend to enslave. April's beliefs about herself as a teacher and her beliefs about control tended to enslave her to a particular perspective of classroom behavior and interactive style with students. In confronting these beliefs through journal writing and guided reflection, she was able to (a) recognize that these beliefs existed, (b) focus on the suitability of her beliefs about control and her role as a controlling teacher, and (c) understand the need to free herself from their constraints. This emancipating process then enabled April to approach understandings of and to focus on her professional growth. Perhaps the final word on this matter should come from April herself: "This process of writing about (experience) has certainly helped me feel more peaceful about my situation. It always amazes me how writing can be so therapeutic!"

Conclusion

The process of becoming teacher requires more than a body of skill and knowledge and more than mere experience in a practicum classroom. As April's case study suggests, there is a real need for becoming teachers to focus on the propositions they hold that form their concepts and beliefs about teachers, students, and the processes involved in interacting with students in classrooms.

April's case study is unique, as April is a unique individual. However, her situation as a becoming teacher is common, similar in many ways to her colleagues involved in the larger study and similar to the many case studies of beginning teachers cited in the literature. The importance of this realization, to my understanding, is that it heightens an awareness of the need to help becoming teachers focus on the concepts that they hold, concepts that, when fitted together, form schemata or frameworks for thinking about and behaving in the classroom.

There is ample evidence in the literature (see Zeichner, 1980, for example) to suggest that neither the theory base gained in faculties or colleges of education nor the practice teaching experience itself will have much effect on a person's becoming teacher. What does seem to make a difference is the internalization of both a theory base and practical knowledge into the teacher's existing belief and concept framework.

We know that preservice teachers enter their training with sets of beliefs and concepts firmly developed (Wodlinger, 1985). April's journal writing has confirmed this. If these schema do not change or change in incomplete or inappropriate ways, I speculate that the theory base and the learnings from the practica will be skewed to fit in the existing schemata, rather than changing the schemata to fit the newly discovered theory and practical learnings.

Evidence from April's writings and interview data lead to the speculation that she did not rise above the technical-rational (Schön, 1983) reflective

stage. In a real sense, April was not able to focus on any other level of reflectivity. With a limited base of experience and strong perspectives and values of herself as student, she was dealing with technical aspects of teaching all through her preservice year.

The key to appropriate integration of new learnings in existing schema that are being changed to accommodate them, I believe, is intervention and mediation strategies that allow becoming teachers to examine their held beliefs and concepts and examine them in light of their visions of themselves as teachers. Guided critical incident journal reflection is one strategy that shows promise in effective mediation of held beliefs and concepts and learnings and in effective intervention that will allow for meaningful change and growth.

This article has focused on the use of guided critical incident journal reflection with one preservice teacher. Through the case study approach, I have attempted to show the use of this tool in the development of teacher in a preservice program. The guided reflection process involves more than journal or diary writing. The added component of guidance by a significant other shows great promise in assisting the developing teacher in exploring the myriad experiences encountered during the training period. The use of a metaguide, a mentor—an associate teacher or faculty advisor—to question, probe, and, if needs be, confront to enable the preservice teacher to reflect on the behaviors in the classroom is essential. Such a relationship between the preservice teacher and a significant other will more readily enable the preservice teacher to derive meaning from experiences in the classroom and will assist in the integration of those learnings.

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Intern Satisfaction with Cooperating Teacher Supervision

This article reports the ratings of 126 interns of 31 present and ideal clinical supervision behaviors before and after a four-month internship to determine their perceptions of satisfaction with cooperating teachers' supervision. Training and experience in supervision were also examined as related factors. The satisfaction measure of least difference between present and ideal scores indicated intern supervision satisfaction increased and moved closer to the ideal when interns and cooperating teachers experienced training and frequent practice in clinical supervision. The most used and most wanted supervisory behavior was when the observer "stayed at least 30 minutes." Audio, video recording, and charting physical movement continue to be the least used and least wanted supervisory behaviors.

Student teaching is generally recognized as the most important preservice experience both by researchers (Brimfield & Leonard, 1983) and by teachers in their first few years of teaching (Clark, 1984). There is, however, little agreement on what constitutes best student teaching. Some researchers have suggested that the role of the cooperating teacher is crucial, and others have advocated the application of teacher effectiveness findings to the preservice experience. The College of Education, University of Saskatchewan, actively supported by the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, has created a program that emphasizes these two aspects. In this four-month program, cooperating teachers and interns are trained and then practice clinical supervision and effective teaching, but is it the "best" student teaching experience? Hays (1982), at a conference on "Student Teaching: Problems and Promising Practices," suggested when determining success in student teaching experience the major research question should "examine the factors in student teaching that make it professionally satisfying or unsatisfying from the student teacher's point of view" (p. 77). The questions that would examine the relationship of cooperating teacher, effectiveness, the nature of the supervision experience, and intern satisfaction remain unasked.

Problem

The conceptual base of satisfaction, supervision, and supervisory behaviors were identified and applied to student teaching and cooperating teachers' literature. Herzberg's (1968) job satisfaction work extended to teachers by Sergiovanni (1967) and recently reviewed by Perko (1985) formed part of the conceptual framework for this study. Job satisfaction was defined as the

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extent to which institutional role expectations are congruent with personal need and disposition. Miskel, Glasnapp, and Hatley (1975, p. 40) provided the two-column structure for satisfaction measure with their conceptualization of job satisfaction as the difference between actual (present) experience and individual expectation (ideal).

Clinical supervision defined by Acheson (1982) as supervision which includes cooperative planning, observation, and feedback for the purpose of improving instruction provided the interaction frame. Krajewski (1982), Reavis (1977), and Acheson and Gall (1987) pointed to clinical supervision as the most positive form of teacher supervision. This was reinforced by Spellman and Jacko (1988) who indicated that clinically supervised student teachers had more positive, effective internships than student teachers who were not clinically supervised. Therefore, 31 clinical supervision behaviors created by Shinn (1977), modified by Acheson (1982), and validated by Khalil (1983), Duncan (1984), Townsend (1984), and Smith (1986) were selected as items for construction of the "supervisory behaviors" section of the survey. The items covered the supervision cycle of preconference, observation, and post-conference.

Teacher effectiveness findings have been used by Hunter (1980) and Rosenshine and Stevens (1986) to formulate technical approaches to teaching. These techniques, which are the core of the Saskatchewan internship model, advocate specific lesson formats and other procedures that provide a generic formula for teaching all subjects.

Despite Blumberg's (1980) conclusion that "the work of supervisors ... has little effect in raising the quality of instruction as a whole" (p. 234), Koehler (1986) and earlier researchers (Friebus, 1977; Seperson & Joyce, 1973; Yee, 1969) have concluded that the supervision of the cooperating teacher is the key human element in successful student teaching.

As both interns and supervising teachers in the sample had been instructed and received coaching in supervision and effective teaching over four months, one aspect remained to be examined. Is supervision by the cooperating teacher a source of intern satisfaction?

From this general concern to consider the practicum experience from the interns' point of view, the researcher asked more specifically:

1. What are interns' perceptions of their cooperating teachers' supervision?
2. What are interns' perceptions of ideal supervisory behavior?
3. What supervisory behaviors bring intern satisfaction?
4. Does intern satisfaction with supervision of interns vary as a function of training and experience in supervision?

Significance

The answers to these questions would be helpful in understanding forces that influence intern support or opposition to supervision; revealing the practices that may be maintained, incorporated, or deleted from current supervisory practice; and providing data for public statements that may guide policy, training, and implementation of more effective teacher preservice practice.

Methods

The researcher used a survey to gain general dimensions and specific details about the level of intern satisfaction with supervision. It consisted of the "supervisory behaviors" questionnaire created by Shinn (1977) which measures teacher perceptions of present and ideal supervisor behavior before observation, during observation, and following observation of the class. It employed two Likert-type, five-point scales ranging from "never" to "often," one on the left margin of each question for "present" responses and the other on the right margin for "ideal" responses. To establish baseline data, the survey was administered to interns by college supervisors at the first intern/cooperating teacher training seminar. The survey questions prompted interns to recall previous student teaching supervision and to identify ideal supervision. At the conclusion of the internship, the college supervisors readministered the survey during the final school-site observation to determine changes after intern training and four-months' experience in supervision for effective teaching.

Sample

In the fall 1988 semester, 6 of 10 intern groups were selected. Initially 136 (45 males, 91 females) elementary and secondary interns responded and 126 (44 males, 82 females) completed the postinternship surveys. On the basis of subject or grade preference, one third of the interns were placed in urban settings. The remaining interns were placed in rural schools to the north and west of Saskatoon.

Interns observed, assisted, and gradually increased their teaching load from one lesson per day to two weeks of full-time teaching in the final weeks of the internship. Intern growth was guided by monthly seminars dealing with planning, classroom management, questioning, reacting, presenting, and supervision techniques. One or two of these effective teaching topics became the intern's monthly teaching focus. College supervisors instructed, modeled, and provided practice for the pairs at the seminars and completed a cycle of supervision with each intern once a month. Each day, cooperating teachers supervised and took data on one formal lesson of their intern. Accurate records of all planning and observations were kept by each intern. In all interactions, interns were encouraged to display leadership, to select observation targets, and to reflect on their own teaching.

Results

Intern mean ratings of cooperating teacher supervision are displayed in Figures 1 and 2 and described below. For all measures, interns rated the observation phase of the supervisory cycle lowest and had greatest satisfaction with postobservation conferences. The most consistently low-ranked supervisory behaviors for all measures (preinternship, present and ideal; postinternship, present and ideal) were "audio and video recordings" and "charting physical movement." They were also least satisfying for preinternship and postinternship when satisfaction was measured as the least difference between present and ideal means. These behaviors were rated as rarely used and ostensibly seldom wanted by numerous teacher samples (Acheson, 1982; Khalil, 1983; Smith, 1986; Townsend, 1984). Interns and

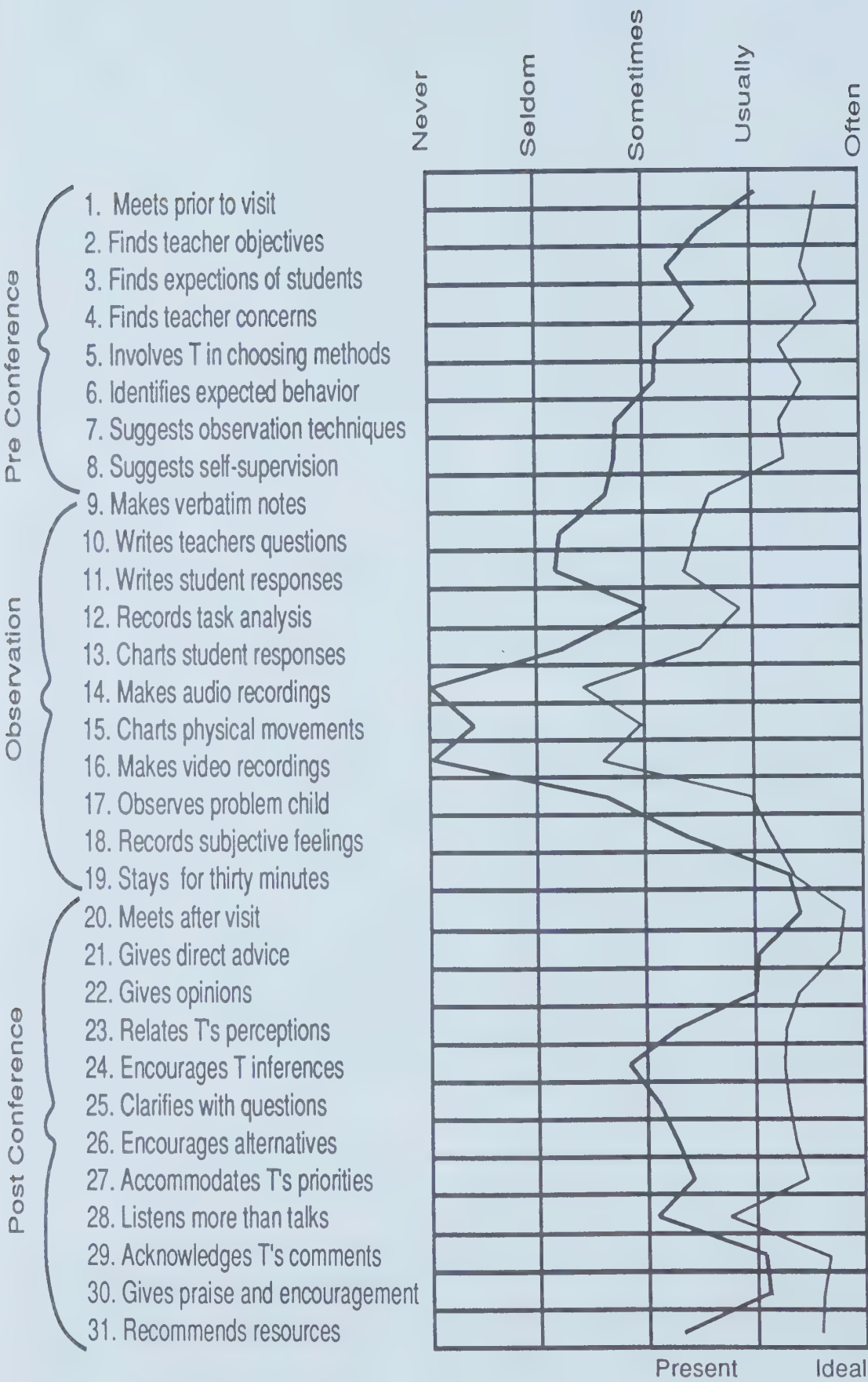


Figure 1: Mean ratings of supervisory behaviors
Pretest—Interns

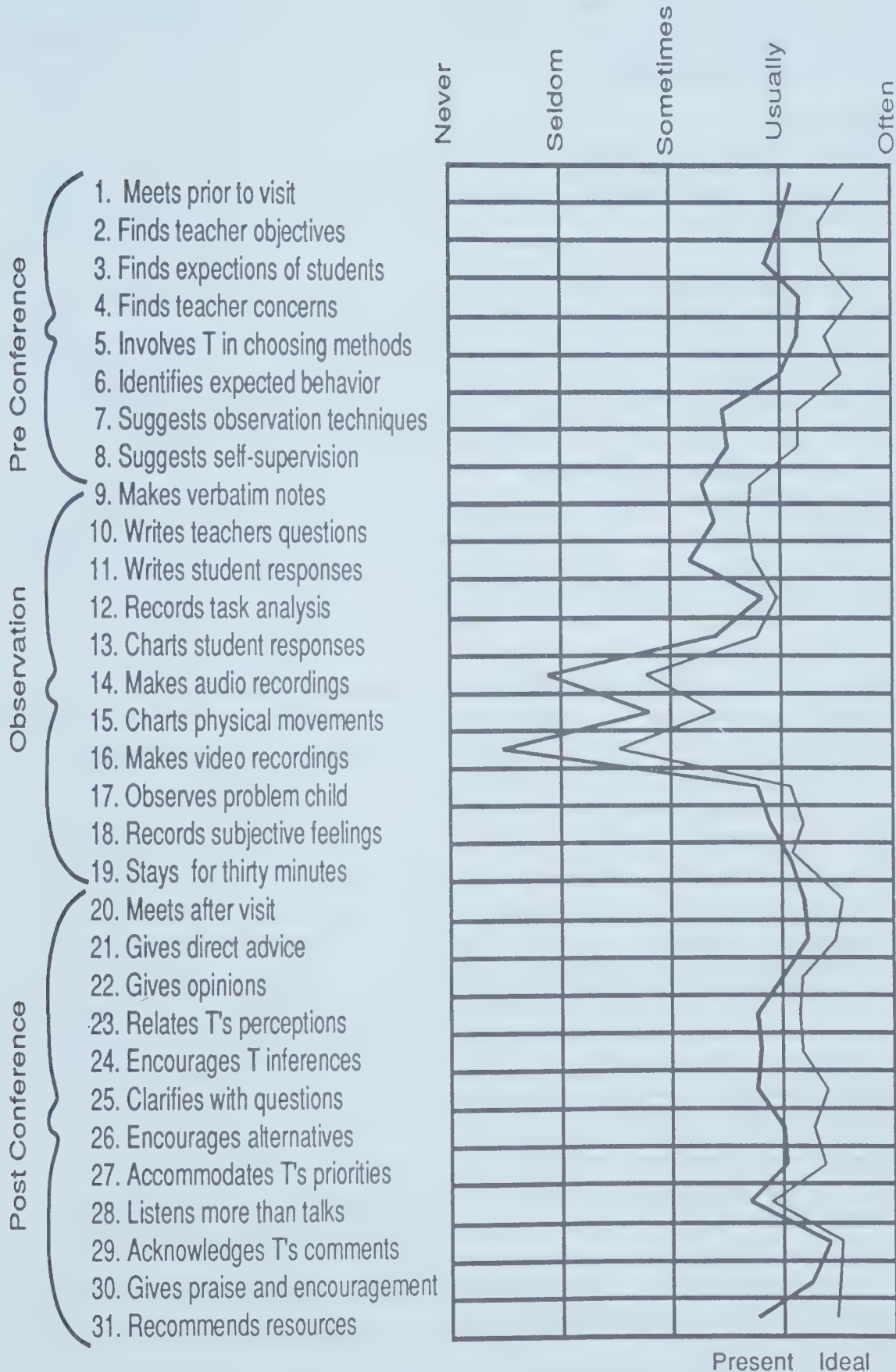


Figure 2: Mean ratings of supervisory behaviors
Posttest—Interns

supervisors may need further training in these techniques to make them common practice and to reduce the sense of threat associated with these techniques. Other supervisory behavior ratings are listed below under the subsections of the two surveys.

Preinternship

Present. The most frequently used preinternship behavior was “meets with me after observation.” This point was reinforced in a previous study by interviewed teachers who said “best observation experiences had immediate post conferences” (Smith, 1988). “Stays with me at least 30 minutes” was the next highest rating. This satisfies interns as most observations are of sufficient length to ensure fair assessment of the class.

Ideal. The highest rated ideal supervisory behavior was also “meets with me after observation” followed by “meets with me before observation” and “gives advice to improve teaching.” Advice seeking is characteristic of most student teachers according to Glickman’s (1985) description of teachers who respond to “directive” supervision.

Satisfaction. The supervisory behavior giving greatest satisfaction was also “stays at least 30 minutes.” This was followed by “gives opinion regarding teaching.” This infers that interns had as much subjective opinion from their cooperating teachers as they wanted.

Postinternship

Present. The most frequently used supervisory behavior perceived by interns at the postinternship stage was “acknowledges my comments.” This suggests a prevalent nondirective supervisory style recommended by Glickman (1985) and Schön (1987) where interns are empowered to reflect on their own practice. Interns were also usually receiving “praise and encouragement” and had cooperating teachers who “found out intern’s concerns.”

Ideal. The highest rated ideal items also reflected the consideration behaviors wanted from the supervisors. The top supervisory behaviors were “finds out my concerns” and “acknowledges my comments.” “My” was the dominant word suggesting postinternship interns focused on concerns for self. They remain at Fuller’s (1969) first level of professional maturity.

Satisfaction. Greatest satisfaction came to interns when supervisors “stayed at least 30 minutes” and recorded students “at task behaviors.” This second behavior was a source of relief to interns who, like Levy’s (1987) first-year teachers, frequently had fears of classroom management problems.

The least satisfying supervisory behavior after “audio and video recording” was when cooperating teachers did not “suggest a variety of observation methods.” This may imply that interns are most anxious to know about all aspects of their teaching and that cooperating teachers need further observation techniques training. There is, for example, no provision for qualitative observations in the internship model represented in the present study.

Prerelationship/Postrelationship

Overall satisfaction with present supervisory behaviors increased and moved closer to the ideal when interns and cooperating teachers experienced mutual training and had frequent practice in clinical supervision over the internship

(compare Figure 1 with Figure 2). The increased satisfaction supports Blumberg's (1980) observation that multiple observation visits are needed to effect real change in teacher behavior, and Townsend's (1984) contention that respondents, trained and experienced in supervision, had a high level of satisfaction with supervision.

Interns in this sample, in agreement with Krajewski (1982), Reavis (1977), and Acheson and Gall (1982), are apparently verifying the need for supervisors to build on foundations of trust, respect, and cooperation with their supervisees.

Conclusions

Perceptions of intern satisfaction with supervision can be measured by replicating results from related studies and by comparing present and ideal perceptions of supervisor behaviors before and after internship. Training and experience in clinical supervision were also related significantly to satisfaction. The results suggest the following:

1. College supervisors should provide school-based training in audio and video recording and charting physical movement. Then, further study of these behaviors should be initiated to determine if they are or are not suitable school-site observation techniques.
2. A wider variety of other observation methods should also be taught to meet the diverse needs of interns.
3. Mutual training for interns and cooperating teachers in clinical supervision and time to implement this supervision model does result in increased satisfaction with supervision.

Supervision does continue to elicit mixed reactions. While its ideal purpose of helping teachers improve instruction is applauded, its actual practice is frequently frustrated. The potential is often not realized.

Conditions of this supervisory practice that made it satisfying to interns were training and experience. Specific training factors included mutual supervision training for interns and cooperating teachers; ongoing coaching and consistent modeling of clinical supervision by the cooperating teachers and the college supervisors; and a clear goal of mastering effective teaching behaviors that gave interns a reason to practice supervision.

Finally, extensive experience was provided that allowed the interns and cooperating teachers time to develop supportive collegial relationships and time for interns to see the results of supervisory practice in their own instructional improvement.

Utilization of these recommendations will bring improved supervisory behaviors, increased intern satisfaction with supervision, and ultimately, improved instruction for students.

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Teacher Participation in Curriculum Development: A Study of Societal and Institutional Levels

It is common practice to include teachers in curriculum committees operating at the societal and institutional levels of the educational system. However, the two levels differ in their distance from the classroom and in their responsibilities for curriculum development. This study compared the responses of teachers participating in curriculum committees at the two levels. Differences were found in the teachers' motivations to join their committees as well as in the satisfactions and dissatisfactions which they derived from participation.

Curriculum theorists approach the study of curriculum today from two major vantage points. One group is philosophical in orientation, reflecting on the nature of the educational experience and its place in the social and political scheme of things. Books and articles written by members of this group tend to be scholarly and theoretical rather than practical in nature. The other group approaches the study of curriculum from a managerial standpoint. Attention is given to the administrative aspects of curriculum, including the selection, organization, and supervision of people involved in curriculum decision making. Publications often focus in a practical way on curriculum change and how that change can be facilitated.

The study described in this article stems from the second orientation. It describes the responses of teachers to participation in curriculum committees with the intention of offering practical suggestions to administrators who are responsible for the development of curricula.

The train of thought which led to the study began with the work of Goodlad and Associates (1979) who conceptualized curriculum development as occurring at three levels of an educational system: societal, institutional, and instructional. The societal level is the most remote from the teacher's daily work. It includes federal agencies as well as state or provincial departments of education. The institutional level includes both the school district and individual schools, while the instructional level refers to individual teachers or teams of teachers working with students in their own classrooms.

The study presented in this article focused on the societal and institutional levels. At both levels, it is common practice to form committees to develop curricula, and those committees ordinarily include classroom teachers. Initially the inclusion of teachers may have been a political maneuver for, as

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Bidwell (1965) points out, "The policies or rules determined by these committees gain at least indirectly the legitimacy of teacher consent" (p. 1015). But more recently the growing professionalization of teachers has drawn attention to the contribution that teachers can make to curriculum committees. Teachers are recognized as having specialized knowledge (Carson, 1984; Connelly & Ben-Peretz, 1980) as well as a practical orientation derived from their work in classrooms (Doyle & Ponder, 1977-78). As Carson and Friesen (1978) explain, "It is generally felt that since teachers possess professional knowledge they should be involved to a considerable extent in educational decision-making in order to practice their expertise as well as to protect their professional interests" (p. 2).

However, although the participation of teachers in curriculum committees is perceived as desirable, the responses of teachers to participation are mixed. Positive responses seem to be contingent on the kinds of decisions the teachers will be making (Ponder & Bulcock, 1976) as well as the teachers' stake in those decisions and their belief that they have the necessary expertise to make the decisions (Hoy & Miskel, 1978). Positive responses also depend on the teachers' perception that their participation is genuinely solicited and is not simply a formality (Duke, Showers, & Imber, 1980).

Another variable worthy of investigation is the level of the educational system at which the curriculum committees are working, for there are distinct differences between curriculum development at the societal and institutional levels. A brief picture of curriculum development at the two levels is drawn below, with particular attention to the Canadian context in which this study took place.

In Canada, the Constitution Act of 1867 granted to the provinces control of and responsibility for education (Lawson & Woock, 1987). Thus societal-level curriculum committees sponsored by a provincial department of education develop curriculum policy for the schools of the province. They express this policy in printed guidelines which define what students ought to be learning in the various subject areas at each grade level (Werner, 1987). Goodlad, Klein, and Tye (1979) refer to these guidelines as the "formal curriculum," that is, a curriculum which has official approval. The committees' work is shaped by debates and trends in the larger society (Werner, 1987). Their work is also influenced by the degree of centralization versus decentralization which is currently in vogue. The guidelines they produce may be highly content specific or may provide general statements or suggestions on the assumption that local boards and teachers will fill in the details (Fullan, 1982).

Curriculum committees at the institutional (district and school) level are responsible for implementation of the provincial guidelines. Although the department of education exercises central control, the committees have substantial scope to determine content and material, pedagogical methods, and assessment of students' progress (Dickinson, 1987). Committee members must interpret the provincial guidelines for the local situation. According to a study by Robinson (1982), this may not be easy due to problems inherent in the guidelines such as a lack of clarity and a dogmatic stance which dis-

courages reflective and deliberative activity at the institutional level. The committees receive little assistance from the province as they endeavor to interpret provincial curricula. This situation, while frustrating, is consistent with the concept of loose coupling (Boyd & Crowson, 1981; Meyer & Rowan, 1983) which Larocque and Coleman (1985, p. 149) describe as a "mutual noninterference pact."

As these brief descriptions show, curriculum committees at the societal and institutional levels differ in certain respects. It is possible, then, that teachers are motivated to join curriculum committees at the two levels for different reasons, and they may derive different satisfactions and dissatisfactions from the experience. If it is important to include teachers on committees at both levels (and there are both political and practical reasons for doing so), it would be helpful to know if this is the case. Administrators responsible for the operation of curriculum committees at the two levels may find the data particularly valuable.

A Description of the Study

The purpose of this study was to compare the responses of teachers to participation in curriculum committees at the societal (provincial) and institutional (district and school) levels. The following research questions guided the study.

1. Are teachers' motivations to participate in curriculum committees similar or different at the societal and institutional levels?
2. Are the satisfactions teachers derive from participation in curriculum committees similar or different at the societal and institutional levels?
3. Are the dissatisfactions teachers derive from participation in curriculum committees similar or different at the societal and institutional levels?

It was decided that a descriptive study of teacher-participants would be appropriate at this exploratory stage.

The Study Sample

The study was conducted in two phases in the province of Alberta, Canada. Phase I focused on the societal level of curriculum development, that is, on the provincial department of education which is known as Alberta Education. Lists of curriculum committees established by the Curriculum Branch of Alberta Education were obtained. Fifteen current committees were identified whose membership included full-time teachers. One teacher was randomly selected from each of those committees. Eight of the teachers were members of ongoing curriculum coordinating committees, while the other seven teachers served on ad hoc committees. The teachers were drawn from many parts of the province because Alberta Education makes a point of ensuring geographic representation on its committees.

Phase II extended the research to the institutional level. Broad geographic representation was also desirable at this level because Alberta is large and school districts may differ in their curriculum development policies and procedures. Because it was not feasible for the researcher to travel throughout the province, it was necessary to locate teachers from across Alberta who were currently residing in one area. This was accomplished by asking grad-

uate students in the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta if they had served on curriculum committees in their school districts in the past two years. All 16 teachers who had done so participated in the study. Eight of the teachers had served on district-level committees, while the other eight had served on school-level committees.

The provincial and local groups were similar in two respects. Geographic representation was achieved in both groups, and the teachers were drawn from all three levels of schooling: elementary, junior high, and senior high.

Data Collection and Analysis

A structured interview was conducted with each teacher. The interview questions dealt with four major categories of information: (a) a description of the committee and the way in which it functioned; (b) the background which the teacher brought to the committee; (c) the teacher's reasons for joining the committee; and (d) the teacher's responses to working on the committee.

In order to obtain valid data, the following procedures were employed.

1. The length of the interviews ranged from 60 to 90 minutes, allowing sufficient time to explore the questions in depth.
2. Interviews were conducted privately with no interruptions.
3. Teachers were assured of anonymity in the reporting of their responses.
4. The use of an interview guide ensured that the same questions would be asked in the same order.
5. Probing questions encouraged teachers to expand on their responses.
6. The questions focused primarily on current or recent events which were fresh in the teachers' minds.
7. The interviews were tape-recorded, allowing the researcher to concentrate on the teachers' responses and ask probing questions rather than taking notes.

The tape recording of each interview was transcribed. This allowed accurate reporting of a teacher's responses and enabled the researcher to interpret specific responses in the context of the entire transcript. The responses of the teachers were then collated for each interview question. The length of the responses ranged from a sentence to many paragraphs. In each case, the researcher extracted the essence of the response from the teacher's words in order to facilitate compilation of the data.

For example, two teachers described their motivations to join their committees in this manner. "I needed to have the interaction with some colleagues or professionals whom I could relate to." "I think it's really important for teachers to talk to other teachers about what they are doing." Both of these statements were summarized as "Need for interaction with other educators." This summary statement was then used as a category of response, and the number of teachers whose responses fell into that category was recorded in a table.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 present the teachers' motivations, satisfactions, and dissatisfactions respectively. In order to keep the tables to a reasonable size, categories were listed only if they included responses from at least one quarter (i.e., four) of the teachers at either the provincial or local level. The

Table 1
Teachers' Motivations for Participation in Curriculum Committees

Motivations	Number of Teachers						Total <i>n</i> = 31
	Province <i>n</i> = 15			Local <i>n</i> = 16			
	Coordinating	Ad Hoc	Subtotal	District	School	Subtotal	Total
Desire to be involved in decision making	5	5	10	1	5	6	16
Acquisition of information, ideas, and materials	0	2	2	3	3	6	8
Curiosity about the curriculum development process	3	3	6	0	0	0	6
Interest in the specific tasks of the committee	0	0	0	3	2	5	5
Need for interaction with other educators	0	0	0	4	0	4	4

Table 2
Teachers' Satisfaction with Participation in Curriculum Committees

Satisfactions	Number of Teachers						Total <i>n</i> = 31
	Province <i>n</i> = 15			Local <i>n</i> = 16			
	Coordinating	Ad Hoc	Subtotal	District	School	Subtotal	Total
Interacting with other educators	7	7	14	7	5	12	26
Growing professionally	3	1	4	6	4	10	14
Influencing curriculum decisions	3	1	4	2	3	5	9
Enjoying the tasks performed by the committee	2	1	3	2	3	5	8
Making a contribution to the work of the committee	5	2	7	0	0	0	7

descriptions of teachers' responses which appear in the following sections are based on the information in the tables.

The data directly related to the three research questions are presented in this article. Other data, drawn from the same study, have been used to explore the status of curriculum development at provincial and local levels (Young, 1988); factors related to teacher interest in curriculum committees (Young, 1989); and curriculum implementation from an organizational perspective (Young, 1990).

Findings

The findings of the study are divided into two sections: societal (provincial) level and institutional (district and school) level. To facilitate understanding of the teachers' responses, each section begins with a description of the

Table 3
Teachers' Dissatisfactions with Participation in Curriculum Committees

Dissatisfactions	Number of Teachers						Total <i>n</i> = 31
	Province <i>n</i> = 15			Local <i>n</i> = 16			
	Coordinating	Ad Hoc	Subtotal	District	School	Subtotal	Total
Hierarchical and political constraints	3	6	9	6	0	6	15
Slowness and inefficiency of committee work	4	3	7	1	6	7	14
Lack of time for committee work	0	0	0	6	5	11	11
Financial constraints	1	4	5	0	0	0	5
Difficulty with the work of the committee	0	0	0	2	2	4	4

curriculum committees operating at that level. It then continues with the teachers' motivations for joining their committees as well as the satisfactions and dissatisfactions they derived from participation. Occasional quotations from the transcripts are used to exemplify the teachers' responses.

Societal (Provincial) Level

Curriculum committees at the societal (provincial) level operated under the auspices of the provincial department of education, officially called Alberta Education. Two types of committees were formed: curriculum coordinating committees and ad hoc committees.

Descriptions of the committees. Eight of the teachers were serving on curriculum coordinating committees. These were ongoing committees with a gradual change of membership over time. Alberta Education made a serious effort to include broad geographic representation as well as a variety of educators on the committees such as university professors, school administrators, subject-area consultants, and classroom teachers. The teachers were selected by Alberta Education personnel from a name bank of interested teachers provided by the Alberta Teachers' Association. Alberta Education paid the members' expenses for serving on the committees plus a daily honorarium.

The curriculum coordinating committees were involved in the development of policy. All but one was affiliated with a particular subject such as science or language arts taught in the schools of the province. The exception was a committee developing policy for integrating learning resources into the process of curriculum development. Words used to describe the work of the committees were "establish," "restructure," "update," "overhaul," and "provide direction." The importance of this work was confirmed by a teacher who said about her own committee, "I was just totally shocked or surprised at how powerful that committee is.... Basically, we set down what they were to do and how to do it. Kind of where to do it. How long to do it."

However, as Werner (1987) points out, "Policy needs to be clothed with concrete content and activities" (p. 93). Therefore, having established policy for the various subject areas, the committees turned their attention to such matters as the selection of specific content, the sequencing of content, the development of instructional modules, and the selection of resources for classroom teachers to use. The curriculum coordinating committees often formed ad hoc committees to perform these tasks.

Seven teachers were members of ad hoc committees. The teachers were ordinarily asked to join the ad hoc committees without reference to a name bank or concern for geographic representation. They were simply known, personally or by word of mouth, by Alberta Education or curriculum coordinating committee personnel for their interest or expertise in the subject under study. There was a higher percentage of classroom teachers on the ad hoc committees than on the curriculum coordinating committees, perhaps because they were often dealing with tasks related to implementation. When the ad hoc committees had completed their tasks, they were disbanded.

Motivations. The primary motivation for teachers to join provincial curriculum committees was a desire to be involved in decision making. The teachers recognized Alberta Education as the primary source of the curricula they had used for years in their own classrooms, and they had reached the point where they wanted to have some input into those curricula. As one teacher explained, "I had certain ideas and I wanted to see some of those ideas eventually flourish throughout the province. The only avenue open was to see if I could get on the curriculum committee."

A secondary motivation for teachers on provincial committees was curiosity about the curriculum development process. "I was curious," said one teacher. "I wanted to see how these curricula get developed." Another teacher explained that she joined her committee "To find out how things come about that filter down to us in the classroom." This motivation is consistent with the teachers' desire for involvement in decision making, for effective participation depends on an understanding of the curriculum development process and how it works.

As the teachers discussed these two motivations for joining their curriculum committees, it became apparent that a great gulf existed between Alberta Education and the teachers' classrooms. The teachers simply did not know what Alberta Education did or how its work was performed. As one teacher explained, "I really didn't have any idea what I was getting into. What it would involve." Another teacher said that, when he joined his committee, he thought, "Golly, I wonder what is happening, and in hopes that, once I found out, I could contribute something."

As a result, it came as a pleasant surprise when the teachers found they possessed a unique, practical knowledge of classrooms which other members of the committee did not have. This knowledge, they said, was the greatest asset which they brought to their committees. As one teacher explained, "I think that the experiences that a classroom teacher has are so different. I believe that, if you get away from the classroom for too long, you sometimes

really lose touch with the reality of what is happening within that classroom.”

The teachers found, to their gratification, that their practical knowledge was welcomed by the other committee members. These people were school administrators, consultants, and professors, and the teachers apparently perceived these committee members as being of higher rank than themselves. “I’m really quite surprised that they even listened,” said one teacher. “I guess I didn’t feel they’d listen to me as much as they do.”

Satisfactions. When the teachers discovered that they were bona fide committee members, they began to enjoy the interaction with other people. In fact, such interaction was the greatest satisfaction they derived from their committee work. This satisfaction ranged from the joy of meeting new people to acquiring new ideas to having one’s own ideas challenged. As one teacher remarked, “We could get together and get to know each other as people.” Said another, “I love to sit and listen to the other members of the committee and find their opinion about things that I have concerns about.” Another typical comment was that “The give and take with other people with different ideas is always useful. It helps you clarify some of your own thinking in certain kinds of ways.”

The teachers also found considerable satisfaction in making a contribution to the work of their committees. As one teacher explained, “I think you get a personal satisfaction out of it. You feel you’ve done something for the school system. For the kids. You’ve had some input. You’ve contributed something.”

It is interesting to note, however, that the teachers did not identify their two greatest satisfactions—interaction with other educators and making a contribution—as reasons for joining their committees in the first place. This is consistent with their initial lack of knowledge about Alberta Education and the way it functions.

Dissatisfactions. The teachers’ dissatisfactions also reflected naiveté about committee work at the provincial level. To begin with, there was frustration with the slowness and inefficiency of committee work. For example, the teachers spoke negatively about the rehashing of decisions. This was partly due to the need to remind committee members of decisions made at their last meeting (which may have occurred several weeks earlier) and to apprise new committee members of the work already accomplished. But another cause was a lack of certainty about the route the committee was taking. As one teacher explained, “When they decided to go that route, they were still not ready to go that route wholeheartedly, so consequently we may end up with people wanting to debate it again which will delay us again. To me that’s inefficient.” The teachers did not seem to be aware that, from a political standpoint, it may be desirable for all committee members to be in agreement about the course they are taking and to present a united front to the various interest groups, even if it does take additional time.

The provincial teachers also expressed dismay with the hierarchical constraints affecting their work. They discovered that, even though they were serving on committees at the highest level of the educational hierarchy, the

work they did was subject to review and revision. The teachers deplored the lengthy review procedure (which they referred to as “red tape”). The changes required of their committees ranged from revisions in the wording and format of curriculum documents to substantive changes in content. The teachers perceived the minor changes as unnecessary detail and the major changes as tampering with the validity of the curriculum which they had developed. As one teacher explained, “At every stage somebody who has not been on the committee and does not know what the thinking of the committee is has the power of coloring the program and then adjusting the program which may in fact remove some of its validity.”

The teachers were particularly dismayed when confronted with the power of the Minister of Education. For example, when a committee was working in a politically sensitive area such as social studies, the Minister had been known to step in with specific directives, and those directives had to be taken seriously. As a result, said one teacher, “You’ve now got to change horses in midstream.” This created a dilemma for committee members whose view of the subject area differed from the Minister’s. “I didn’t realize,” a teacher commented, “that one pronouncement from one man or even a government could just totally change us around.”

When such basic changes were made in a committee’s work, the teachers registered considerable cynicism. As one remarked, “If someone else is simply going to make up a program and move it on top of the one that the committee worked through, well, my first impression is ‘Why didn’t you do it in the first place?’” There was also skepticism regarding the source of the changes required. One teacher explained that, “The government, because it is political, they listen to the public and the public does not know exactly what [this subject area] is. They know what they were taught when they were students.”

Another dissatisfaction surfaced when the Minister set “unreasonable time lines” which resulted in a lack of quality in the committee’s work, a lack of credibility with teachers in the field if the time line was not met, and a failure to develop sufficient materials for implementation of the curriculum. One teacher who had served on other provincial curriculum committees had drawn the conclusion that the Minister was uninformed about the amount of time needed to perform a particular task well. “He didn’t really understand the parameters,” she remarked. “I feel that his department has not made the parameters clear to him.”

The teachers were also concerned—and perplexed—about a perceived lack of financial support for the implementation of the curricula they were developing. As one teacher explained, “You put together a series of ideas and then, damn it, the stuff isn’t there. The resources are not available for teachers.” The teachers themselves believed that insufficient financing was partly due to a lack of clarity on the part of Alberta Education regarding responsibility for curriculum implementation in the province. They evidently did not realize that the major responsibility for implementation lies with the institutional, not the societal, level.

Institutional (District and School) Level

Goodlad and Associates (1979) conceptualized the institutional level as including both the school district and individual schools. In certain respects, the teachers participating in curriculum committees in both contexts responded in a similar manner to participation. However, certain differences were noted as well.

Descriptions of the committees. Eight teachers had recently participated in school district curriculum committees. These committees were formed without exception by central office personnel, usually a subject area consultant. The consultants were responding primarily to an Alberta Education mandate, to changes in the subject area, and to innovative ways to teach the subject area. They were also sensitive to the concerns expressed by teachers as they visited in the schools.

Five of these teachers had been asked to serve on their committees by central office personnel. Two had heard about the committees by word of mouth and volunteered to serve, and one said participation was mandatory for all teachers in her subject area.

The other eight teachers had served on curriculum committees in their own schools. These committees were formed in response to teachers' frustration with subject area curricula. In two cases there was a need to eliminate overlap from one grade level to another. Other committees were formed because insufficient or inadequate resources had been provided for implementation of a subject area curriculum. The teachers, naturally, complained about these difficulties and, as one teacher explained, "It got to the point where the principal was picking up that there was a general consensus that this was happening between grades and felt it was time to really act on it." At that point, a committee would be formed.

Five of these teachers had volunteered to serve on their committees, while three participated because all the teachers in their grade levels or subject areas were involved. Collegiality was apparently an influence on participation at the school level. As one teacher remarked, "Everybody was just sort of helping everybody else out." Said another, "It seemed fair for each teacher to take part of the responsibility." Committees at both the district and school levels were engaged in similar tasks. Some committees attempted to make the provincial guidelines more usable by straightening out what would be taught at each grade level. In the course of this work, objectives were added, rearranged, and emphasized. The other committees approached implementation more directly by developing units, gathering resources, and pilot testing either a new curriculum or a series of textbooks. The only curriculum work which was unique to an individual school was the development of school-wide instructional themes such as "Alberta's Mosaic."

Motivations. The teachers joined their committees for a variety of reasons. One motivation was the opportunity to acquire information, ideas, and materials with immediate application to their classrooms. The teachers looked forward to obtaining such tangible materials as science equipment, packages of resources, and a clearer sequence of objectives. One teacher, for

example, said she anticipated “Putting something together at my grade level that I knew that I would be able to use.”

A second motivation was interest in the specific work the committee was doing. When asked why she joined her committee, one teacher replied, “It’s rather a selfish reason. It pushes me into reading children’s books.” Said another, “I like working with drama.... And things like taping, I enjoy doing.” It is worth noting that these teachers, unlike their provincial counterparts, were able to anticipate what their committees would be doing and whether the work would be of interest to them.

A third motivation—the need for interaction with other educators—was identified only by teachers serving on district-level committees. Apparently, some teachers felt isolated in their own schools, and they needed the stimulation of contact with teachers whom they didn’t see on a regular basis. As one teacher explained, “I felt that, if I wanted to be doing a good job in my classroom, then I needed that external contact to better provide for my students.” Perhaps the teachers serving on curriculum committees in their own schools did not mention the need for interaction because they were in touch with their peers on a daily basis. As one teacher said about her school, “The grade 1 group was very interactive anyway, and we sort of participated in everything to help everybody out.”

A fourth motivation—the desire to be involved in decision making—was more important to teachers serving on school-level committees than on district-level committees. The teachers working on committees in their own schools saw clearly that the decisions made by their committees would have considerable effect on their classrooms, and it was worth their while to swing the decisions the way they wanted them to go. As one teacher explained, “I had a basic idea of what should be included in a good reading program.... I didn’t want the focus to go totally onto the phonics.” Said another, “I didn’t want to find myself with a science text that I really didn’t like.”

Why did only one teacher serving on a district-level committee identify the desire to be involved in decision making as a reason for joining his or her committee? A clue may be provided by the fact that the decisions made and the materials produced at the district level were optional for teachers throughout the district. Therefore, it is possible that the teachers did not feel themselves involved in decision making which would clearly influence what teachers did at the classroom level.

One other finding is worth mentioning here. Curiosity about the curriculum development process was identified as a motivator by some provincial teachers. However, not one local teacher expressed such curiosity. It may be that the teachers had observed local curriculum committees in operation and knew—or thought they knew—how such committees functioned.

Satisfactions. The teachers agreed with their provincial counterparts that the greatest satisfaction gained from participation on their curriculum committees was interaction with other educators. Again, the teachers derived enjoyment from being with other people, from sharing ideas, and from realizing that other people had similar concerns. As one teacher explained, “I liked being able to talk to teachers who were also struggling in terms of

student motivation ... and also realizing that I wasn't the only one in the whole show that was developing this same awareness regarding students."

The teachers also indicated that interaction on a curriculum committee was different from the daily interaction in the staffroom. For example, one said she enjoyed "Just getting to know the staff members that much better.... More comes out on a curriculum committee about another teacher's philosophy of teaching than any other time. So much of the staffroom banter is just very specific, you know—"Well, what did you do this morning and how did that work?"—whereas if you sit down with people on a curriculum committee, they really come across with what they think should be in this part and why. I found that interesting."

Professional growth was another major satisfaction which the teachers derived from participation. They were clearly thinking in terms of their own classrooms. For example, some teachers welcomed the opportunity to study the curriculum in more depth and to synthesize their ideas. The teachers also found it helpful to put their classrooms in the broader context of the school. As one teacher remarked, "You have some sort of grasp of what is happening in your school when you are on a committee like that."

Dissatisfactions. The teachers serving on district and school committees expressed different dissatisfactions in two respects.

Teachers serving on *district* committees, like their provincial counterparts, registered dissatisfaction with hierarchical constraints. They found, for example, that their work was vulnerable to changes at the provincial level such as revised objectives for a subject area. As a result, "Certain programs have to be scrapped or entirely rewritten because they no longer conform to those objectives." The teachers also felt constrained by central office which had the power to give released time, to set time lines, to determine the kind of work the committees would do, to establish the format of the materials produced, and even to require a teacher's participation on a committee. In one case, a teacher perceived that his committee was a "rubber stamp" in which the teachers began to feel, "Well, what does he want us to say now?" It is interesting to note that teachers serving on committees in their own schools were apparently free of such hierarchical restrictions.

On the other hand, the teachers at the *school* level, like their provincial counterparts, registered frustration with the slowness and inefficiency of committee work. However, this frustration was caused not by bureaucracy, but by other committee members. Unfavorable comments were made about teachers who had different ways of working or different perspectives or who failed to do the work they had promised to do. For example, one teacher found considerable difference between her interest in "how the concepts were developed and built upon" and the other teachers' concern for "Can I do it with the kids? Is this going to work?" Such differences caused time delays, disappointment "when somebody else's ideas are used, and they may not be as good," and occasionally a negative feeling that one's approach is considered irrelevant by the other teachers. The failure of a committee member to shoulder his or her share of the load was also frustrating. "Not everyone

was available to come to meetings or, when they came, they didn't have their things done."

Although there were differences in the dissatisfactions expressed by teachers serving on district and school committees, the major dissatisfaction of both groups was the lack of time to devote to their committee work. The problem was acute because these teachers ordinarily received little or no released time for their work, so they squeezed their committee meetings into free times such as noon hours, after school, and evenings. As a result, the work of the committees was not given sufficient priority and quality deteriorated. As one teacher explained, "Quite often you would be just in the very middle of something and time would run out." The teachers' preparation for meetings also suffered. Said one, "It was really hard to be really thorough a lot of the time." As a result, said another, "Sometimes the end product isn't as good a product as it could be because the time lines and the energy resources available are too restricted." At its worst, the teachers' morale plummeted. As one teacher described it, "I was very busy, and I thought this is just something added to the whole array of things that I was doing, and sometimes I found that it was just a bit too much. I think that was the problem with most people." (It is worth noting that the work of two school-level committees was never completed.)

Discussion

The purpose of this discussion is to offer practical suggestions to administrators who are responsible for the operation of curriculum committees at societal and institutional levels. The suggestions are based on the finding that teachers serving on curriculum committees at societal (provincial) and institutional (district and school) levels did indeed differ with respect to their motivations for joining their committees as well as the satisfactions and dissatisfactions which they derived from the experience.

It appears that, as curriculum development becomes more remote from the classroom, its character changes. It moves from practical to philosophical, from self-regulated to regulated by others, and from personal to impersonal. Thus the teachers serving on societal (provincial) level committees were more curious than their local counterparts about the functioning of curriculum committees, more awestruck by the perceived power of the committees, more delighted to find they could make a contribution to their committees, and more dismayed by the political and hierarchical constraints which controlled their work. However, they rarely complained about the feasibility of participation because released time was customarily provided for committee meetings.

At the institutional (district and school) level, however, the teachers joined their committees because they expected to obtain practical information, ideas, and materials which they could apply to their classrooms. They knew—or thought they knew—how the committees would operate, so they expressed no curiosity about curriculum development or surprise when they made a worthwhile contribution to committee work. They were also in greater control of the work of their committees. Dissatisfactions, however, took on personal overtones, and committee work suffered from lack of time.

Three suggestions are made to administrators with regard to these findings. The first suggestion is that, as curriculum development moves *up* the educational hierarchy, an effort must be made to explain to teacher participants the context in which their committees will be working. For example, because teachers are not familiar with the machinations of provincial departments of education, it is important to explain the constraints which will shape the work they do. In particular, the political need to satisfy a variety of internal and external groups and the bureaucratic need to follow certain procedures must be laid on the table. The data showed clearly that unexpected and unexplained constraints led to negative feelings on the part of teacher participants, including the perception that they were being used for ulterior motives. These feelings may affect the quality of the teachers' work and their willingness to serve on curriculum committees again.

It is worth noting that this suggestion applies to district-level committees as well as provincial committees, although perhaps to a lesser extent. In fact, one of the interesting findings of the study was that, although Goodlad and Associates' (1979) institutional level included both the district and the school, in many ways the district committees were more similar to provincial committees than to those in individual schools. For example, the committees were initiated and administered by people other than the actual participants, teachers were usually invited (or required) to join the committees, and the work of the committees was subject to hierarchical control.

The second suggestion is that, as curriculum development moves *down* the educational hierarchy, more support must be given to the curriculum committees. There is an obvious need for curriculum committees to be given time for their work as well as assistance so they can do their work well. However, the granting of time and assistance is important in another way; it says clearly to teachers that their curriculum work is of value. The need for recognition—for moral support—is particularly evident at the school level, for the closeness of committee work to the teachers' classrooms made some teachers doubt that they were doing curriculum work at all. One teacher commented that when she joined her committee, "I wasn't thinking of it as going in to doing curriculum work. I was thinking of it as a project that we might find fruitful to do." Another teacher questioned that her committee, which was identifying and organizing the equipment needed at each grade level to implement the science curriculum, was really a "curriculum" committee. "I think it's just one of those things that has got to be done." This particular teacher was interested in getting into curriculum work, which she called "the big stuff," at the district or provincial level. The decrease in status as curriculum development moves down the educational hierarchy is a major problem for administrators to consider. (See Young, 1988 for expansion of this finding.)

The third suggestion stems from the finding that the major satisfaction of teachers at both societal and institutional levels was their interaction with other educators. The interactors, the types of interaction, and the focus of interaction differed from one level to another, but in all cases the teachers clearly enjoyed sharing ideas and being exposed to approaches to curriculum

and instruction which were different from their own. It is suggested, then, that administrators capitalize on this need on the part of teachers. At the provincial level in particular, recruitment procedures should apprise teachers that interaction among committee members is one of the bonuses of committee membership, for the data indicated that teachers did not know this would be the case.

School administrators need to be aware, however, that interaction among teachers on school-level committees can be sullied by the fact that the teachers may know each other only too well. It was pointed out earlier that dissatisfaction at this level took on personal overtones. It is possible that interaction would be more positive at the school level if principals themselves took a more active role in committee work, awarded more status to curriculum committees, and arranged for committee members to interact with teachers in other schools and with consultants from central office. Such contacts would address the strong need the teachers expressed to interact with other educators on a professional basis.

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Self-Reported Strategies of Experienced and Inexperienced Consultants: Exploring Differences¹

There is widespread concern on the part of practitioners that curriculum consultants are not as effective as they could be. Researchers have tended to neglect the role. The behaviors that characterize effective consultants have not been identified. The purpose of this study was to bring to the surface some of these behaviors by focusing on differences in the strategies reported by experienced and inexperienced consultants. Data sources for the study were verbatim transcripts of semistructured interviews conducted with 12 curriculum consultants (half experienced, half inexperienced) from two large school boards and six senior administrators from the same boards. Categories of analysis evolved from the data and were organized in a four-phase model of consultation: initiation, planning, delivery, and follow-up. This study found similarities and differences that were interpreted in an expert/novice framework. The characteristics that distinguished experienced from inexperienced consultants concerned overt strategies that were used to bring about change. There was little evidence that the crude quantitative measures (amount of consulting or time spent) identified in previous studies distinguished between experienced and inexperienced consultants. The study found that the tactics of consultants were affected by the settings in which they worked. The most sophisticated strategies were available only to consultants working in enlightened school systems. But in contrast with researchers who have argued that effectiveness can only occur in an enabling institutional context, the study concluded that many of the differences between experienced and inexperienced consultants were within the control of individuals.

Motivation for the Study

An educational consultant is an educator who helps teachers and other school system agents perform their responsibilities more effectively. Various labels are used to describe the role, and the specific expectations for consultants vary considerably from district to district. A review of the literature² found a vast amount of descriptive and prescriptive material and a relatively small set of empirical investigations.

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Curriculum consultants are widely regarded as having a critical role in the improvement of educational practice, yet there is significant dissatisfaction with consultant performance. A major source of dissatisfaction is derived from consultants' uncertainty about role expectations (Dow & Whitehead, 1981; Stennett, 1974) and disagreements between consultants and superintendents concerning how consultants spend their time (Leithwood, Ross, & Montgomery, 1982). Another contentious issue is the relevance of consultants' work. There is evidence that teachers' educational concerns are handled within the school, not by consultants (Holdaway & Millikan, 1980) and that consultants spend a disproportionate amount of their time working with teachers least in need of assistance (Alpert, Weiner, & Ludwig, 1979). Then there are those who question the impact of consultants on curriculum decision making and their ability to bring about school change (Firestone & Corbett, 1981; Fullan, 1981; Regan & Winter, 1978). One result of dissatisfaction with the performance of consultants is the frequently observed practice of reducing the number of consultant positions and/or filling them with short-term secondments.

Most studies of consultation report that consultants have an impact on teacher skills and practice (Bancker, Eiseman, Cox, & Schmidt, 1982; Conoley & Conoley, 1982; Curtis & Watson, 1980; Griffin & Barnes, 1986; see also the review of 29 studies by Medway, 1979). However, Curtis and Watson (1980) found that only highly skilled consultants contributed to teacher growth. Effects on student behavior have also been reported (Bergan & Tombari, 1976; Conley, 1983; Mannino & Shore, 1975; Randolph & Wallin, 1973); in contrast, Griffin and Barnes (1986) found that consultants' work with teachers had no measurable effect on students.

Several researchers have attempted to identify characteristics of consultation associated with teacher effects. The duration of consultant-teacher contact has been consistently linked to teacher growth (Curtis & Watson, 1980; Louis, Rosenblum, & Molitor, 1981; Miles, Fullan, & Taylor, 1978; Runckell & Bell, 1976; Tyler & Fine, 1974). Investigators making finer distinctions with respect to the time variable report that effective consultants spend more time in inservice and modeling activities (Loadman & Mahan, 1972) and that consultant effectiveness is associated with how consulting time is used rather than the total amount of time given (Louis & Sieber, 1979).

Studies attempting to identify differences in the effectiveness of strategies used by consultants have had limited success. The Miles, Saxl, and Lieberman (1988) attempt to distinguish between strategies used by consultants, rated by project managers as either outstanding or average, found only small and inconsistent differences. Similar findings were reported by Firestone and Corbett (1981) and Louis and Kell (1981). The few intervention studies attempting to systematically vary the strategies used by consultants have reported scattered findings: Cossairt, Hall, and Hopkins (1973) found that praising teachers' implementation efforts was more effective than other feedback strategies; Conoley and Conoley (1982) reported that joint consultant-teacher observation of students was more effective than having the

teacher alone describe student behavior; Bergan and Tombari (1976) found student and teacher effects for the number of different techniques recommended by the consultant to the teacher and for the extent to which the consultant elicited responses from teachers.

Previous research has found that consultants can have an impact on teachers and students, but there is a lack of knowledge about the specific behaviors that distinguish effective from ineffective consultants. The search for effectiveness—in schools, teachers, principals, and supervisory officers—has not been matched with a quest for the effective consultant. What little is known about the characteristics of effective consulting is based on gross variables such as the effect of the presence of consultation or the amount of consultation.

Focus of the Study

The purpose of the research reported here was to identify some of the specific behaviors that distinguish effective consultants by focusing on differences in the strategies reported by experienced and inexperienced consultants. The rationale for using experience as a proxy for effectiveness was based on several considerations:

1. In the region in which the research was conducted only a few consultants—those with particularly sterling records—were given a renewal of responsibility beyond a two- to three-year term.
2. Supervisory officers reported that the major change in consultant effectiveness occurs in the first two years in the role.
3. There were significant shortcomings in using other methods for selecting respondents, for example, ethical review committees require that respondents selected on the basis of their reputations for ineffectiveness be so informed.

Study Methods and Procedures

Sample

In Ontario the Ministry of Education provides a policy framework in the form of curriculum circulars, guidelines, and support documents for the development, implementation, and evaluation of instruction. Ontario school boards operate in the framework with substantial discretion (in comparison with other provinces). Board A in the sample promoted tighter linkages than other Ontario boards between its programs and Ministry documents on the one hand and between roles within the system on the other. This board developed a detailed set of structures, procedures, and a long-term operating plan (updated annually) to govern the actions of teachers, administrators, and support staff. Considerable emphasis was attached to coordinating the efforts of curriculum consultants with those of principals so that teachers did not receive competing messages about system expectations. Experience in a consultant role had recently become a prerequisite for promotion to principal. The system was less tightly coupled in practice than in theory—exceptions to the intended model were easily found—but Board A was making a serious attempt to bring its standard operating procedures into line with its ideals. Board B in the study was less centralized. Responsibility for the

articulation and implementation of curriculum policy was inconsistently shared by line and staff incumbents. In some schools consultants and administrators worked together to give teachers a consistent message; in others consultants worked at the direction or with the indifference of the principal; in a few cases there was overt competition. This board was moving toward detailed procedures for curriculum action, but it was experiencing a gap between its senior echelon and middle management. In both boards there were a variety of consultant roles. Some roles had a subject focus for all grades (e.g., JK-13 Art); others focused on a subject for selected grades (e.g., Intermediate/Senior English) or addressed all subjects in a few grades (e.g., K-3). Psychoeducational consultants, unlike curriculum consultants, tended to focus on the needs of specific children in special populations and were more likely to spend a portion of their time delivering instruction to children. In each board some consultants had quasi-supervisory responsibility for other consultants and were more likely to work with groups of teachers than with individuals.

The data consisted of verbatim transcripts from semistructured interviews conducted with three experienced and three inexperienced consultants in each of two large Ontario school boards ($n=12$). Although participation in the project was voluntary, the consultants³ were nominated and initially contacted by senior administrators. Characteristics of participating consultants are summarized in Table 1.

These data were supplemented with other sources:

1. A series of pilot interviews was held with consultants from boards not included in the study in order to develop instruments.
2. Single interviews were held with the director, superintendent of curriculum, and an area superintendent in each of the two boards.
3. Materials provided by the consultants and administrators (job descriptions, examples of activities, and written products) were also examined to illuminate the context of the consultants' work.

Instruments and Procedures

The study began with an unstructured group interview with four consultants not involved in the formal data collection. The purpose was to get a sense of the language and concepts used by consultants in talking about their work. Interviewees were invited to discuss successes and failures they had experienced relative to the statutory requirement that they "assist teachers in maintaining proper standards and improving instruction" (Government of Ontario, 1984). They were also asked to identify factors that contributed to success or failure in the role. For example, consultants said that "laid-on workshops" or "one-shot awareness sessions" rarely had the desired effect; much more successful were events that came in response to genuine teacher requests. The wide-ranging interview touched on a variety of issues such as how the objectives for a consultation are determined, relationships with principals and teachers, differences between one-to-one and group consultation, evaluation concerns, stressors, rewards, and images of the consultant's role (e.g., "You know the story of Bartholomew Cubbins and the 500 hats

Table 1
Summary of Main Consultant Sample Characteristics

Item	Experienced (6)	Inexperienced (6)
1. Number of years in present position	At least 3 years for all six; more than seven years for four	Half year for two, 0 years for four
2. Consulting/Administrative experience prior to present position	All six held prior consulting or administrative positions	Two held Department Head positions; four had no prior consulting or administrative experience
3. Program areas and levels of present responsibilities	One concerned with all curriculum areas, K-6; Five concerned with specific areas (Languages, Arts, Gifted) with three having K-13 responsibilities and two having 3-13 responsibilities	One concerned with a specific area (Outdoor and Environmental) K-13; three responsible for all curriculum areas K-6/K-8 and two concerned with specific areas (Guidance, Technical) 7-13
4. Years of classroom teaching experience	Mean = 20 years	Mean = 15 years
5. Academic background	All six have undergraduate degrees and five have M.Ed. degrees	All six have undergraduate degrees and two have M.Ed. degrees

[Geisal, 1938]? Well, that's us. Only every time you take one hat off, there's about three more to take its place.")

The transcript from the three-hour interview was used to identify questions and probes for a guide for interviewing individual consultants. This guide was piloted with two additional consultants—one experienced, the other inexperienced—not involved in the formal data collection. Further refinement followed analysis of these transcripts.

The refined instrument (requiring 60-90 minutes to complete) was administered to the 12 consultants from Boards A and B. Respondents were invited to describe a situation in which they were particularly effective in one-to-one and in group consultation. For each example they were asked to identify the characteristics of the situation which contributed to success, the purposes served by the consultation, and to generalize from the case. They were also asked to describe how other school or board personnel affect their work, for good or ill, and to respond to some terms used by the pilot interviewees to describe their work with teachers (e.g., demonstrating, sharing, problem solving) and images for the role (e.g., Bartholomew, Geisal, 1938). In discussing their activities respondents described a three-part consulting process consisting of planning, delivery, and follow-up. Comments of interviewees were collected in each phase, and patterns were identified.

Unannotated transcripts from the first interview were returned to the interviewees for further elaboration.

A second interview guide was designed to address areas of uncertainty. The second interview (also requiring 60-90 minutes to complete) focused on the three phases of consultation using the situations given by respondents in the first interview as stimuli. For each situation, specific actions taken by the consultant were probed in considerable detail. In the follow-up phase, for example, respondents were asked: Who determines follow-up needs? How are they determined? What kinds of activities constitute follow-up? Is follow-up provided for in the initial planning of the consultation? Is attention given to sequencing or recycling either in the initial planning or as follow-up progresses? Is there a decision that follow-up is proceeding satisfactorily or is complete? If so, who makes it and how? Unannotated transcripts of the interview were once again returned to the interviewees for comment and correction.

Each consultant completed a self-administered questionnaire concerning professional experience, academic background, and training for the consultant role. They were also asked to bring any materials that would help the researchers understand individual consultant responsibilities.

The interviews with senior administrators addressed the selection criteria for appointing consultants, performance expectations, training opportunities, and development anticipated in the role. The administrators in both boards looked for people with “the ability to have it happen in their own classroom and the ability to help somebody else have it [happen] in the classroom.” They wanted consultants who could conceptualize curriculum processes (“because they have to interact with people who are doing that all the time”), but they have to be practical (“capable of taking the concept and translating it into action”), aggressive (“requires a person who isn’t a shrinking violet”), and focused (“I see people being very selective about the work they do—being very purposeful in ensuring that there is some kind of collective significance”). When responding to teacher requests, consultants are expected “to bring to that setting a system perspective and give them help that is perhaps broader than is asked for in the first place and is in keeping with the system direction and not totally in response to the initial question.” Administrators also received unannotated transcripts of their responses.

Full-day meetings were held with the consultants from Boards A and B to obtain feedback on the interpretations of the data. Revisions were examined in subsequent half-day meetings. Shorter meetings were held separately with the administrators of each board.

Coding and Analysis

The analysis began by pairing Board A and B consultants so that each pair consisted of one experienced and one inexperienced consultant who differed as little as possible with regard to demographic features such as board, age, sex, subject area, and other factors. There were no perfect matches—there was, for example, a confounding effect of postgraduate training—but the procedure minimized sources of variation other than consultant experience.

Interview transcripts were compared to identify similarities and differences. The search was guided by a framework which represented consultation as an instructional act for which objectives, teaching strategies, resources, and evaluation procedures could be identified. A more detailed account of the instructional system is contained in Robinson, Ross, and White (1985). Similarities and differences identified in each pair served as hypotheses which were tested in the transcripts of the remaining pairs. These hypotheses were not developed a priori—the existing literature provided insufficient direction for a confirmatory approach. In contrast the study was exploratory: Hypotheses were developed, discarded, and refined in successive iterations throughout the data. The decision rule for acceptance of each hypothesis was 75% confirmation (i.e., the hypothesis was accepted if the data were consistent with the hypothesis in 9 of 12 cases).

Findings

Similarities Between Experienced and Inexperienced Consultants

Although the focus of the study was on differences between consultants, a number of similarities emerged. Eight themes, summarized in Table 2, met the criterion for acceptance. (The checks in the table indicate that the respondent articulated a view that was consistent with the rest of the sample. The Xs indicate that the view expressed was inconsistent or that no data were provided; the question marks indicate ambiguous data.)

Planning

1. In setting objectives, all but one consultant indicated they listened and responded to teacher needs. For example, an inexperienced consultant reported that “We drew them [teachers] out to find out exactly what they wanted ... [consultants] really have to listen to what teachers want,” and another indicated how important it was “to be able to meet the needs of as many individuals as possible.” Similarly, experienced consultants said “teachers resent not being in on the planning” and consultants must be “prepared to listen to the teacher.”

Getting teachers to express their needs could be a significant task. An inexperienced consultant “asked a lot of questions to establish exactly what they wanted.” An experienced consultant said she will “tend to hold off ... until I get enough feeling from the field that there are people who have identified their need.” Another described a consultation that failed “because it wasn’t coming from them ... it was coming from somebody up there.”

2. In presenting new ideas to teachers, both groups of consultants used expert teachers. Experienced consultants talked about “bringing in teachers” and using “teams of teachers”; for example, “I have some teachers I bring in and we write curriculum and [they] do workshops for me.” Inexperienced consultants reported similar strategies: “planning is done with a group of key teachers”; “I say to them, if you have some people ... that have expertise, we need some volunteers.”

3. The main method used by both groups to present how-to information to teachers was to provide hands-on activities: “direct activities that they could use and see how they would work.” Often these activities were brought to the

Table 2
Similarities in Strategies Reported by Experienced and
Inexperienced Consultants

Dimensions	Experienced		Inexperienced	
	Board A	Board B	Board A	Board B
<u>Planning</u>				
1. Consultants listened to teachers and responded to their needs.	√√√	√√√	√√√	X√√
2. Consultants used expert teachers in presenting new ideas to teachers.	√√√	√√√	√XX	√√√
3. Consultants used hands-on activities to present how-to information to teachers.	√√√	√√X	√√√	√√√
4. Consultants used large group presentations to provide general information about new programs.	√√√	?√√	√√√	√√√
<u>Delivery</u>				
5. Consultants enlisted teacher motivation.	√√√	√√√	√√X	√X√
6. Consultants tried to avoid coming on like experts to teachers.	??√	√√X	√√√	√√√
<u>Evaluation & Follow Up</u>				
7. Consultants found that principals had a big impact on the success of consultants.	√√√	?√√	√√√	√√√
8. Consultants found that one shot workshops were not effective.	√√√	?X√	√√√	√√√
Code: √ consistent X inconsistent ? ambiguous				

session by expert teachers. An inexperienced consultant had teachers spend “90% of their time sharing, sharing resources, sharing how do you do this, and how to you go about doing that.” A similar strategy was expressed by an experienced consultant who said “there are many different strategies you can use for workshops and they’re all hands-on.”

4. The method preferred by both groups for presenting general information about new programs was the large group session. The view of experienced consultants that “the large group meetings [are] for situations where you have to get information out to the whole group at once” was shared by inexperienced consultants who reported that large group sessions were for when “there is a new program, new Ministry expectations, then obviously you want your teachers to be aware of what the expectation is”; “you want to get the sense ... hey, we are all moving in the same direction.”

Delivery

5. In delivering consultation both groups stressed the importance of generating teacher motivation. Inexperienced consultants said that “a motivated teacher is important for change”; they “have to see a reason why.” The experienced articulated similar views: “teacher interest is the key”; consultants have to provide “in-service to motivate teachers.”

Part of the motivational dynamics reported by both groups is the development of a trusting relationship between the consultant and teachers. “Trust is the first thing” for one of the experienced consultants, a view echoed by an inexperienced consultant who talked about the importance of “the openness and trust and feeling [that] yes, we can work together.”

6. Modesty in interacting with teachers was recommended by both groups: A consultant who “comes on” like an expert can alienate teachers. Inexperienced consultants talked about efforts to counter or avoid the expert image: “This notion of standing up there as head honcho ... I think I deliberately tried to move away from that perspective”; and from another, “I tried to establish sort of a relationship ... as a friend as well as a consultant.” Two experienced consultants making reference to the “expert” issue suggested that the consultant be careful “not to lord it over people ... [they] get turned off” and “clients can distrust if [the consultant is] seen as an expert.”

Evaluation and Follow-Up

7. Most consultants agreed that the principal could be a positive force or an obstacle mediating the impact of the consultant. An inexperienced consultant found that “the principal is a key factor in how the whole school feels about support people and having them in the school.” Experienced consultants provided similar comments: “the principal has a big impact”; “it’s important that the principal be on board”; “if [the] principal doesn’t go to the in-service [the consultant] might as well not go.”

8. Both groups agreed that one-shot workshops are not effective. All inexperienced consultants talked about the limitations of one-shot workshops with comments such as “I don’t believe a one-shot workshop effects change” and “obviously when you give a whole group presentation and leave ... you are not very effective.” The experienced consultants endorsed this strategy commenting on the need for a “sequence of workshops” with “follow-up,” candidly dismissing the value of briefer events: “one [shot] sessions are useless.”

Differences Between Experienced and Inexperienced Consultants

Some variations in consultant behaviors were associated with differences in job descriptions. For example, experienced consultants had substantial development responsibilities in addition to implementation functions, whereas the job descriptions of the inexperienced consultants directed their efforts to putting the board’s curriculum into use. The study also found 10 differences that appeared not to be related to tasks assigned by the system but to the methods that consultants used to perform them. These differences (summarized in Table 3) tended to be smaller in Board A possibly because the

Table 3
Differences in Strategies Reported by Experienced
and Inexperienced Consultants

<u>Dimensions</u>	<u>Experienced (E)</u>		<u>Inexperienced (I)</u>	
	<u>Board A</u>	<u>Board B</u>	<u>Board A</u>	<u>Board B</u>
<u>Planning</u>				
1. (E) derived objectives from system plan; (I) had ad hoc initiatives based on own agenda & requests of teachers and principals.	√√√	√√√	X?√	√√√
2. (E) provided consultation to a variety of roles; (I's) consultation was limited to teachers.	√√√	√√√	XX√	√√√
3. (E) individualized consultation to accommodate/a range of teacher needs; (I) treated all teachers the same.	√√√	√√√	√X√	√√√
4. (E) provided practice activities within consultant sessions; (I) did not.	√√√	√√√	XX√	√√√
5. (E) scheduled practice activities between consultation sessions; (I) did not.	√X√	√X√	√√√	√√√
6. (E) arranged for teachers to share what they had learned with others as a strategy for consolidating consultant input; (I) had no planned sharing or used sharing to introduce new ideas.	√√√	√√X	√?X	√√√
<u>Delivery</u>				
7. (E) constructed multi-agent teams; (I) worked alone or with a single agent.	√√√	√√√	√√√	XX√
8. (E) adjusted plans substantially in response to teachers feedback; (I) made modest adjustments or none at all.	√√√	√√√	√X√	√X√
<u>Evaluation & Follow Up</u>				
9. (E) measured consultant impact in terms of teacher & student changes; (I) used looser, more affective measures.	?√√	√√√	√X√	√√√
10. (E) used evaluation data to plan subsequent events; (I) focused on isolated events.	√√√	√√X	√√√	√√√

Code: √ consistent
X inconsistent
? ambiguous

inexperienced had some experience in the consultant role, however brief, at the beginning of the study. In the table the checks indicate that the respondent articulated a view that was consistent with the rest of the group (experienced or inexperienced) to which he or she belonged. The Xs indicate

that the view expressed was inconsistent or that no data were provided; the question marks indicate ambiguous data. There were no instances of reversals, that is, contrasts in which the difference between experienced and inexperienced consultants was in the opposite direction to that found in the rest of the sample.

Planning

1. Experienced consultants used board priorities or a system plan to identify needs to be addressed in consultation: "there's a plan ... you try to get them to plug into the plan and then if they move to grade 5 [or] down to grade 2, then you look at the plan and say, all right, I have to expand this, I should be doing more of that." The plan was used to develop a set of specific consulting objectives, in part by using the plan to interpret and select from lists of needs expressed by teachers. For example, one experienced consultant described how goals were set for a workshop series: The teachers were put in small groups and

they were interacting about all the components of Whole Language ... then another primary consultant from the team and I sat down and took the levels of use profile titles.... We went through the raw data that we had collected from these people in their brainstorming sessions and we summarized everything that they had ... by doing that we were able to identify certain gaps.

Experienced consultants responded to requests from individual teachers, groups of teachers, and principals, but they felt free to decline requests or give brief responses to those which deviated from the system thrusts.

We don't feel obligated to respond to the whims of principals when they don't particularly fit into the initiatives. If we get that kind of request we may meet with the principal and try to put it into a different context.

In contrast, the inexperienced consultants reported that the objectives for their activities were derived from their own personal agendas, their knowledge of teachers, or the expressed needs of consultees without overt reference to a system curriculum plan. For example, one inexperienced consultant reported that "the way I feel that I do things, I have to know people ... I would find it difficult if it was a very, very large board, I think that, with hundreds of teachers, then I don't know what I would do." Another inexperienced consultant indicated that his workshops replicate a provincial inservice program containing specific objectives: "It's quite a program. Very prescriptive, pedagogy outstanding; it's very tight."

Experienced consultants also searched more widely for data on teacher needs. This search for accurate data was most visible in one-to-one interactions. For example,

usually before you go in you have a good idea of what the teacher would like you to do, so you do some phoning beforehand ... there's your initial contact, you think about it, you phone back and talk some more. You also talk to the principal. That way everybody is brought on board and then you go in and you can help the teacher a little bit more because you have more information.

Conversations with teacher and principal were supplemented with observational data collected by the consultant or principal to diagnose the specific needs more precisely.

In contrast, inexperienced consultants employed narrower search procedures. They reported talking to the teacher involved in the one-to-one interaction, but they accepted the teacher's definition of the need as is, rather than treating the teacher's expressed need as one piece of information to be added to others. They did not confer extensively with other agents in the system.

2. Experienced consultants provided inservice to a variety of roles beyond the teacher. For example,

last night in fact we did a parent presentation.... We've got a little routine together that we've said we are going to go on the road and do our road show. We started at the principals' conference ... and we have done it for our superintendents and trustees and our principals and our vice-principals.

Another experienced consultant reported explaining school system policies in workshops offered to professionals outside education (i.e., nurses).

In contrast, inexperienced consultants provided inservice to teachers only. Some of the inexperienced consultants had a great deal of contact with principals, but as gatekeepers, not as consultees. For example, they contacted or were contacted by principals to negotiate entry into schools. When asked who decided the substance of one of her school workshops, an inexperienced consultant responded: "[It] was decided by the principal ... I met with the principal and we did some planning. He told me the level of awareness the people were at."

3. Experienced consultants were aware of the variability of teachers' needs and responded by attempting to individualize consultation. Some of these individualization strategies involved addressing a range of needs in a single workshop. For example,

differentiating actually in the workshop itself where one person might take one group off and do one particular thing and somebody else take another group, because we know the needs are different.

Another strategy involved giving different resources to different individuals; for example,

You've got to go back to ... the level of the teaching ability. If I know the personalities then I may already know of some things that I should go in with and I would do that, either take material in or have sources identified for them.... Of course, I always have more than one agenda.

A related strategy involved a main message with asides for those not ready for the main message.

When we write our curriculum and when we do our presentations, sure we are going to try to meet the needs of the people [to bring them to] the highest level. But we also want to catch a lot of these people in here [pointing to the profile] ... for example, I would say, "OK, if you are using a basal reader and you're using it with round robin groups, or you're just using workbooks for

follow-up, here are two or three other things that you could do that wouldn't mean a lot of work. You could implement them in the next couple of days." So, I guess we are aiming at getting here [pointing], but not overwhelming these people who are lower.

Different types of experiences were used to accommodate teachers with different learning styles: lecture, demonstration, sharing, distribution of materials, audio and visual presentations—all in the same workshop. Separate experiences in separate sessions were also reported in order to meet the needs of different groups. For example, an experienced art consultant reported that he provided concrete experiences with a detailed procedure for teachers fearful of the art curriculum; for talented art teachers he provided a less structured approach that extended their interests to other domains or deepened their competence in the medium which was of greatest interest to them.

In contrast, inexperienced consultants, with one exception, did not report strategies for attempting to meet the varying needs that exist in a diverse group of teachers. Only one relatively simple strategy, providing additional materials, was reported by an inexperienced consultant:

You always have such a wide range of levels of awareness and program. I guess I'm trying to spark awareness in those people, so I present that. But I also want to provide some support for the people that are already doing the program; that's why a lot of the materials [at the workshop are] for the people looking for something they can use.

The difference between experienced and inexperienced consultants is partly attributable to the greater sophistication of experienced consultants in conceptualizing teacher differences. The experienced had complex levels of use profiles containing many dimensions with several performance levels in each. For example, "We have a program scale in the County ... it has criteria across seven categories of program." The inexperienced used simpler schemes consisting of a few levels on a single dimension. For example, "You've got a group of teachers that are keeping up [with] the curriculum ... and then there is a large group of teachers that aren't ... there are a group of teachers who are not willing to put in any extra time ... they look upon it more as a job and not as a career."

4. Experienced consultants were more likely, especially in one-to-one consultation, to schedule practice in which the teacher would receive some kind of feedback on his or her performance. For example, one experienced consultant provided teachers with a general procedure for teaching children how to plan an artistic composition; he also provided a schedule for introducing this procedure to the students:

I'll quickly demonstrate how that will work and set up some timelines. The first time ... have sort of a chance for motivation, first to get some verbal input, to get some ideas going, some mental images. And then you suggest, in grade 7, have the child tell you six things that are going to be in the picture, and start with the most important ... have them start their own plan ... and then that might be the end of Day 1. Day 2, then you start to get rid of the

unimportant things in the picture and work towards the centre of interest. And the children know exactly where they are going. They have a formula for doing it and yet you're not impinging on the content ... they're still open and free.

The teacher's implementation of the assigned activities was observed by the consultant and/or principal in subsequent visits to the school.

The inexperienced consultants were less likely to provide practice with feedback in one-to-one consultation although two of the six did so using a similar format to that of the experienced consultants. The routine of the other inexperienced consultants consisted of a single visit in which the consultant modeled the desired behavior or provided materials describing what the teacher should do. The extended series of interactions described by the experienced consultants (i.e., an objective setting meeting followed by a series of shared teaching episodes in which the teacher's role gradually increased) was not visible in their transcripts.

Some of the experienced consultants also reported that they scheduled practice activities in workshop settings as well as in individual consultations. For example, "there will be people who need to be brought along and ... if they can practice among their peers before they go into the classroom and get a feeling of what's going to happen..." These practice activities were close to the classroom behavior to be learned. For example, for a workshop in learning how to co-plan with students, the consultants decided

to bring in students and assign a student to each teacher ... the student had picked a topic of interest and together they started to try to co-plan what it was they were going to do ... we moved around to try to be, well, facilitators or coaches or whatever you want to call it. Trying to listen in on what was going on between the teacher and the kid and try to provide some feedback in that direction.

Another experienced consultant reported that she had teachers work with the same art materials that the students would be using. Yet another had teachers simulate teaching by teaching other teachers or developing lesson plans in small groups.

5. Four of the six experienced consultants reported that they assigned practice tasks to be undertaken between consultation sessions. None of the inexperienced consultants reported arranging activities that would require teachers to consolidate what they had learned in a workshop or in an individual consultation by applying the new ideas to their own classrooms.

Two of these experienced consultants also reported sequencing the practice activities in order to reduce demands on teachers as they acquired the new teaching skill. For example, one reported that after modeling a whole class art lesson,

realizing that that teacher probably would still have a lot of difficulty in doing this with a group of 25 or 30 students, [I] suggested she use a centre approach ... I was able to first of all, get over the initial hump, have something effective happen ... and leave her with something she felt comfortable with. And she

could have 4 or 5 working back there and keep a close eye on what they were doing.

The same consultant reported that subsequent interventions with the teacher gradually increased the complexity and the messiness of the art materials used. He also recommended that the teacher “try it at home first or after school.” The other experienced consultant who sequenced practice reported that “I might have shown five steps in my giant workshop, but then I might go back grade by grade and break it down and say, OK, well let’s just work on moving a little bit into step one or step two with some students.”

6. Most experienced consultants arranged for teachers to report on their attempts to implement new ideas. The reporting activities took a number of forms. For example, teachers were scheduled to report to other teachers at an in-school or family of schools meeting: “come back to an ASG [i.e., a family of schools] meeting for a sharing session. And how has it worked in your school? With your equipment?” Teachers were asked to report to principals in self-appraisal sessions or the consultant served as a listener: “I brown bagged to her school that day and we sat down to lunch.... We talked about what worked and what didn’t work.” These reporting sessions were planned in advance; the teachers typically knew that they would be called on. These sessions were seen as motivational devices: Having teachers display examples of student work that were produced by implementing the consultant’s recommendations gave teachers a great boost. They also improved the likelihood that teachers would put consultant ideas into practice; noncompliance would be visible. Furthermore, explaining things to others was seen as a good way to consolidate one’s own knowledge. It was also a mechanism for communicating to other teachers the benefits of the innovation: They provided testimonials from satisfied users.

Most inexperienced consultants did not have teachers report on their implementation efforts to others. One who did use the strategy as a way to introduce new ideas which may have been unknown to the consultant: “[in] many cases you can bring other things in that you want to talk about that you may not necessarily know how to approach.”

Delivery

7. All experienced consultants assembled teams that involved the consultant with expert teachers, principals, and other consultants in the delivery of consultation. One experienced consultant, for example, reported organizing a workshop series with a team of 20 people; responsibilities for delivering specific components were shared. Experienced consultants regularly assigned school support tasks to expert teachers and principals where such resources were available.

In contrast, only two inexperienced consultants reported working in multiagent teams. These two worked closely with principals, but at their direction rather than collegially. For example, “the principal evaluates what is happening within his school and my role is support ... [my role depends] on the principal. Strictly on request. I don’t go from school to school saying, my

thing is, I can do.” The remainder worked alone or with small teams consisting of a few expert teachers.

In this job I expected there would be more team work. Perhaps it's a function of the fact that there are four of us that are brand new this year in the job. We all tend to be doing our own thing.... That whole aspect of the teacher as an isolated being continues when you are a consultant and I thought it wouldn't. It's one of the aspects of the job I find least satisfying.

It may be that this difference between the experienced and inexperienced is a reflection of the opportunity that consultants have to develop networks as they become known in the role, as much as it is a reflection of a chosen strategy.

Follow-Up and Evaluation

8. All the experienced consultants reported making substantial adjustments to their plans on the basis of feedback from teachers. For example, one experienced consultant reported that an outside speaker completely flopped, so he took over the session and worked with the audience to find ways in which the speaker's materials could be used effectively. The same consultant reported that “I wouldn't go in with a rigid view of what I had to come out with. As long as I see some development, some growth, then I'm quite happy.” This willingness to change objectives during the delivery phase was shared by other experienced consultants. For example,

You find people asking questions that indicate they are at a much higher level than you anticipated. And if you've got a good handle on your material you can adapt very easily ... the workshop just changed gears because we've got a pretty good handle on where things are. It wasn't a problem for us.

Such flexibility was reflected in the comments of other experienced consultants who were quick to terminate activities which were not working well or to replace materials that were found to be inappropriate.

Inexperienced consultants reported modest adjustments, if they adjusted at all. For example,

I had a teacher in the room who obviously was further along and you could tell by her body language that she was frustrated, that what she wanted from the workshop was not what I was providing ... I zeroed right in on her at the end of the workshop ... I said perhaps I could come in and talk to you about some of the needs that you have in particular.

Another inexperienced consultant when asked what she does when she encounters an unreceptive audience replied, “you forge ahead anyway.” She went on to describe a situation in which she recalled having reservations about this strategy but even though “it wasn't urgent, it was needed to be moved on and so we did.” Yet another reported that when facing teachers who don't want to change he suggests, “try it my way ... and then let's have a debriefing at the end and see if you can convince me of your way.... Sometimes that works, and in a few cases it didn't ... my solution in the future would be to demonstrate a little more leadership.”

9. Consultants differed in the type of data they used to judge the effectiveness of consultation. Most experienced consultants talked about observable change in teacher behavior. For example, in describing a successful intervention with two teachers the consultant reported that his subsequent observation in their classrooms provided evidence: "I see the things that I've taught in those classes, I see them again and again, and there was a lasting effect and they've gone with it and have grown with it." Others referred to requests for materials required by the program, submissions from teachers to newsletters, requests for additional input, and other methods of determining whether the consultant's advice had been implemented. Experienced consultants also talked about consultant effectiveness in terms of measurable changes in student outcomes: "student evaluation ... see how it matches the County standards."

Inexperienced consultants, with one exception, relied on looser and more affective categories of data to judge consultant effectiveness. They talked about changes in teacher behavior but not in terms of teaching skills: "The morale of teachers has changed. Prior to that it was just, excuse the terminology, every time we got together it was bitching sessions." Others said they knew they were effective when enough trust had been established that teachers were willing to try something new. "Getting to know the person" was the key criterion. Inexperienced consultants also judged their effectiveness in terms of the extent to which teachers perceived their offerings as useful: "I have to relate to positive affirmations, I think. To know that what you are doing is appreciated and is effective." In recounting an unsuccessful event in which there were no "warm fuzzies," the anguish comes through:

They jumped down my throat.... They decided to dump on me. I just felt really, really unhappy when I left. I felt that I had done a lousy job, I was very uptight about the whole thing ... I felt I was blaming myself because I couldn't come up with what they wanted.

10. Almost all the experienced consultants used the data they obtained on the effects of consulting to design subsequent events. They reported that "you know how far people have progressed and it gives you things to work on for another time" and "it's an ongoing thing, so you identify materials needed, supplies needed, and quite often what will come out of it will be strategies needed, then you move into a further sharing session." One experienced consultant described this routine monitoring and replanning as her fundamental task:

I think that's what really the essence of our job is, being able to identify where people are, what their needs are, whether it's strategies in their classrooms, or whether it's evaluation techniques or whatever it is, identifying their needs and being able to respond to them.

Another consultant contrasted the current tracking routines she used with those that used to prevail in her board when consultants "could go out and do whatever we jolly well pleased as far as workshops went ... [now] we have to write a management plan and report."

In contrast, none of the inexperienced consultants reported using evaluation data in an ongoing replanning cycle. For some it was not clear how they used the data they obtained, if they used it at all. For example, one consultant reported "I provide [teachers] with a questionnaire that they fill in collectively just to give me their ideas ... I may not even use the ideas but what I'm doing is collecting the information for me to get as much knowledge as I can." Other consultants had vague plans to use information about the effects of a particular activity if the opportunity for the same activity should arise: "I think if I do it again next year, I will try to" or "an interesting portion of the program that I didn't use the first time, but did use the second time ... I'd do more of that in the future." More commonly, the inexperienced consultants did not use evaluation data for designing new events because they didn't have useful information.

Models of Consulting

The differences in strategies used by the two groups of consultants can be represented as a pair of models, as shown in Figures 1 and 2. Figure 1 represents the simple model followed by inexperienced consultants. Consultation begins with either a request from a teacher (or principal, step 1a) in which case it is processed through the consultant's perception of the situation and the expressed needs of the teacher (step 2), or it comes from the consultant's own agenda (step 1b). In neither case is there an extensive search for information before setting specific objectives (step 3). The objectives for the consultation do not differentiate between groups of teachers. The session, typically given by the consultant working alone, consists of pure delivery; there is no explicit provision for practice (step 4). Evaluation is limited and focuses on the specific event.

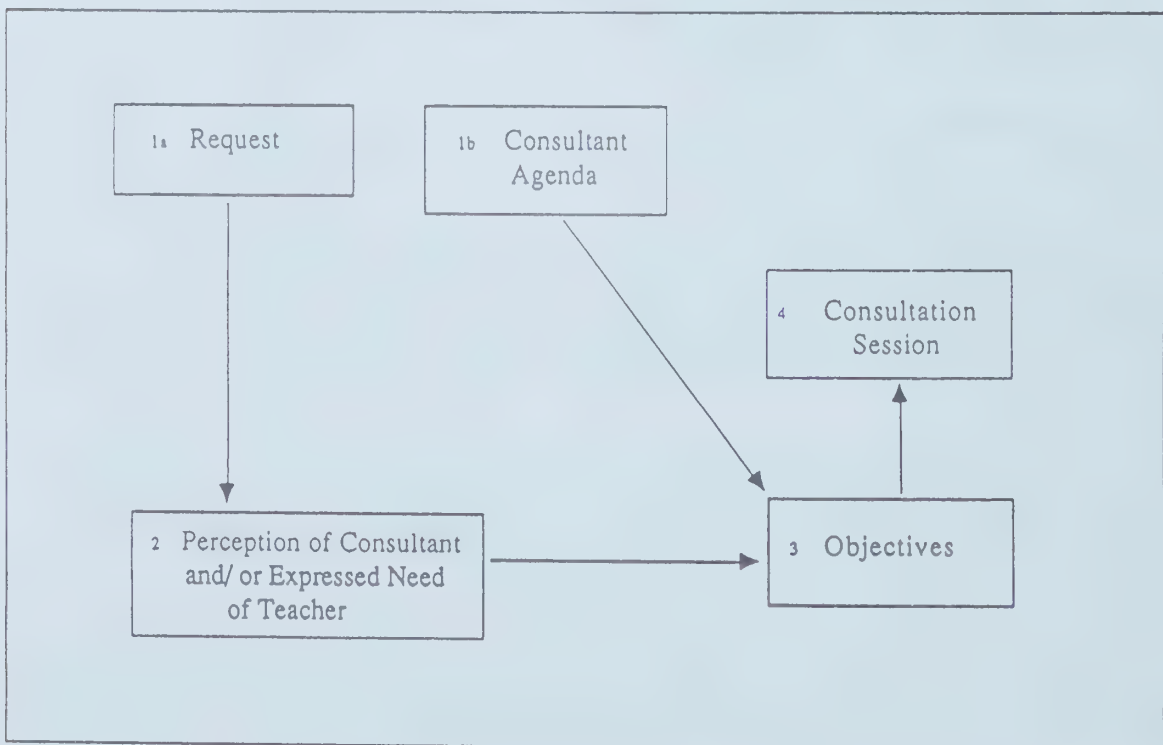


Figure 1: Simple model of consulting

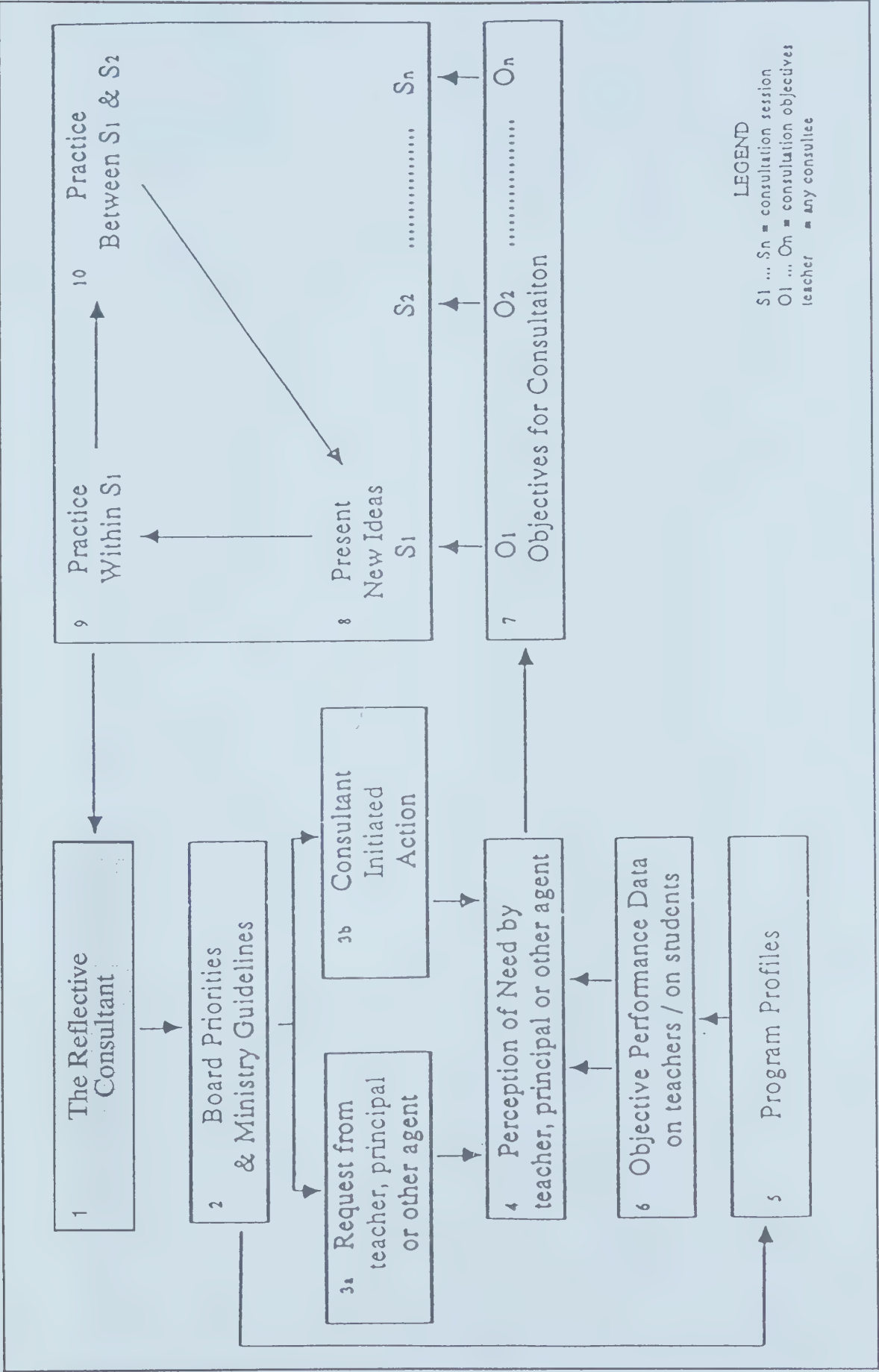


Figure 2: Model of the reflective consultant

Figure 2 represents the strategic deliberations of the experienced consultant. The key element in the model is the shaded box representing the reflectiveness of an actor who consciously plans, experiments, and evaluates in the role (step 1). These consultants generate their discrete actions from an explicit framework which is informed by a keen sense of long-term goals, mechanisms for negotiating specific objectives, knowledge of planned change practices, and constant self-appraisal leading to tactical realignment. Prior to the initiation of a particular consultation, the experienced consultant develops an image of what should be derived from board priorities and Ministry guidelines (step 2). The experienced consultant recognizes that the specific requests received from various school system agents (step 3a) and the consultant's proactive interventions (step 3b) are each related to the curriculum environment of the board. Requests and initiatives are reinterpreted in the light of information obtained from a variety of sources (step 4). A prime source of needs data is provided by objective indicators of student and teacher performance (step 6); these describe the gap between desired and actual practice represented by placements on program profiles (step 5). The differentiated objectives that emerge focus on narrowly targeted needs of individuals and groups (step 7). These objectives are addressed by a consultation team in a series of sessions that provide for demonstration (step 8) and for practice within (step 9) and between sessions (step 10). Each step of the process is formatively (in terms of consultee feedback) and summatively (in terms of teacher and student changes) appraised and integrated into the evolving framework of the reflective consultant (step 1).

Discussion

The main finding from the study was that there were differences in the strategies used by experienced and inexperienced consultants which seemed to be consistently maintained over a series of different contexts—that is, different consulting tasks in different boards. Examination of these differences suggests that the experienced consultants can be viewed as experts. Previous research (e.g., Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1986; Berliner, 1986; Leithwood & Stager, 1987) suggests that experts share certain characteristics that distinguish their behavior from that of novices.

Experts know more: Their knowledge structures are larger and are organized in different ways. In terms of amount of knowledge, the experienced consultants in our sample knew more about the degree of effort required to bring about change and the specific strategies for doing so. In contrast with their inexperienced peers, the experienced consultants arranged for a series of interactions with individuals and groups. They also assigned practice tasks, either within the session or between sessions. These strategies are congruent with one of the most strongly supported findings from research on the change process: Redundant encounters with the behavior to be learned over extended time frames are necessary to bring about lasting teacher change. In terms of the way knowledge is organized, there is some evidence that experienced consultants represented problems differently than the inexperienced. Experienced consultants defined needs in the context of a system

plan, and they had a more sophisticated category scheme for classifying teachers.

Experts have more complex skill structures than novices: They are more flexible in their processing; they are able to handle more data; and they are more conscious of the effectiveness of their strategies. The experienced consultants in the sample demonstrated greater processing flexibility in their response to teacher feedback and in their ability to accommodate different needs in a single event. Experienced consultants also showed that they were able to handle more information in that they had more elaborate ways of determining the effects of their interventions and made greater use of such data in thinking about their role.

Experts are simultaneously sensitive to the task demands and to the social structure of the job situation; novices are not. The experienced consultants in the sample demonstrated a sensitivity to the social context through their networking and team-building activities. Experienced consultants, to a greater extent than the inexperienced, addressed the needs of a broad array of school system roles and involved other agents in the delivery and monitoring of consultation. They also used teachers reporting to others as a technique for consolidating learning from consultation.

A second important finding emerging from this study is that the characteristics that distinguished experienced from inexperienced consultants concerned the overt strategies used to bring about change. There was little evidence that the crude quantitative measures (amount of consulting or time spent) identified in previous studies distinguished the behavior of the experienced from the inexperienced. Similarly, the attention given in the literature to the importance of personal attributes was not confirmed. It may be that there was little variation across our sample on these personal variables: For example, the importance of interpersonal skills was so well known that it may have been a necessary condition for selection to the role. The practical value of focusing on differences in overt strategies (as opposed to tacit knowledge or personal attributes) is that strategies are more easily taught to newcomers to the role.

A third finding concerned the interplay of individual achievement with the support/constraint provided by the school system. There was evidence that the tactics and executive strategies of the consultants in our sample were deeply affected by their specific job descriptions and the institutional contexts in which they worked. System plans, networking within teams of consultants, and coordinated support between line and staff positions were key elements in the strategic planning of the experienced consultants. Because all of these elements are largely beyond the control of the individual consultant, the potential for superlative performance is greatly diminished in unenlightened school systems. But we are more sanguine than Fullan (1981) and Fullan, Anderson, and Newton (1986) who argue that the effectiveness of consultants is dependent on the emergence of an enabling institutional context. Many of the differences between experienced and inexperienced consultants we found (e.g., with regard to the provision of practice and follow-up) are within the control of individuals. It is more difficult to perform

these activities in an unsupportive environment, but it is possible: There is a place for the heroic consultant.

The findings from this investigation are limited in several ways. The data were derived from only two boards which were probably significantly more advanced in curriculum organization than other school systems in the province. The differences in strategies were identified from self-reports rather than from observation. The study did not shadow consultants to measure the accuracy of their reports, and we obtained no independent data on the impact of their strategies. It may be that the experienced consultants in our sample were merely those adept at providing a more elegant apologia for their actions. And we do not know what portion of the differences should be attributed to selection as opposed to growth in the role. It is also possible that some of the differences might reflect differences in ideological support for system policies, strengthened when the experienced were reappointed to the role, rather than differences in skill or knowledge.

Despite these caveats, the discovery of consistent differences between experienced and inexperienced consultants suggests that the strategies of individuals may develop in the role and may be addressed in professional development programs. In analyzing the data we noted that there were variations within the categories of experienced and inexperienced. We have attempted to capture these variations in a profile of consultant strategies which is being used to stimulate the reflection and professional growth of consultants. The impact of this inservice, and the personal and board characteristics that contribute to the effects are the focus of our current research agenda.

Notes

1. This research was funded by the Ontario Ministry of Education, Transfer Grant 87-1056. The report reflects the views of the authors and not necessarily those of the Ministry. Florence Maynes made a significant contribution during the data collection and data analysis phases of the project. Dianne Gates assisted in the interpretation of the interview data. A longer report on the study is available in Ross, Regan, and Maynes (1988). Andy Hargreaves and Anne Hogaboam provided helpful comments on an earlier draft.
2. Available data banks (Resources in Education, Current Index to Journals in Education, and Ontario Educational Research Information Service) were machine searched using appropriate key words. Abstracts of hits were used to determine which studies would be obtained and examined in detail. Citations in each identified study were pursued through manual procedures.
3. The research reported here focused on internal consultants—those employed by a school district—rather than external consultants employed by an outside agency (e.g., a university) to bring about change. Although there have been few attempts to compare the roles (e.g., Fullan, 1981; Louis, 1981), the similarities seem to be greater than the differences.

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Persistence of College Transfer Students

This article summarizes a case study of students in a two-year college transfer program as they reached the point of transition to university. As well as describing their characteristics and perceptions, the study sought to distinguish between persisters and nonpersisters and to seek out factors associated with attrition. Data were gathered using two questionnaires: one administered to Red Deer College transfer students in March of their second year, and a follow-up in the fall of the same year. Only 10% of respondents did not persist in their studies, and they were indistinguishable from the persisters, except in having recognized the possibility of "stepping out" as an option. Both persisters and nonpersisters were satisfied with their college experience and felt that they had achieved their academic goals. The study confirms the value of transfer programs and reveals suggestions for dealing with problems encountered in transferring from college to university. Furthermore, the study provides a context for exploring policy questions relevant to access to degree programs in Alberta.

Most of Canada's two-year colleges were created during the 1960s and 1970s to provide enhanced postsecondary opportunities for those who were not inclined to attend university. In British Columbia and Alberta, however, the mandate of the new colleges included first- and second-year university transfer programs. As these colleges have evolved, transfer has become firmly institutionalized: No college has given up this function and others have sought to expand it. The centrality of the transfer program has led to renewed interest in degree-granting status among certain colleges in both provinces (see, for example, "Increasing Access," 1988; Lau, 1988; Strickland, 1988).

Although decisions to extend degree-level studies are mainly political in nature, educational factors such as the capabilities of the colleges, their record of success, and the perceptions of students must also be taken into account. For instance, what percentage of transfer students actually proceed to university? How well do they do when they get there? The literature from the United States has been generally positive on the *achievement* of transfer students when they reach university (see, for example, Cole, 1986; Holahan, 1983; Rodriguez, 1987). Although there are fewer Canadian studies, their

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findings have been equally affirmative (see, for example, Dennison, 1982; Small & Konrad, 1986; Vaala, 1988). These studies show as well that students generally feel positive about transfer and are satisfied with the college program as a preparation for senior-level studies. While students may have to go through an adjustment phase, this is usually completed during their first year at university. Grades may dip but tend to return to about pretransfer levels.

This article is concerned with the more troublesome question of how many students in transfer programs *actually proceed to university*: What factors are associated with decisions to continue or to withdraw? And how many would have preferred to remain at the college to complete their degrees? A 1988 case study of students at Red Deer College (Tyler, 1988) provides some answers.

The record has not been favorable concerning rates of transfer from college to university, in some instances reaching a low of 10% (see, for example, Knoell, 1982; Sheldon, 1982). Student factors associated with attrition include financial problems, job commitments, housing problems, poor grades, personal difficulties, family responsibilities, lack of clear goals, and studying part time (Astin, 1975; Knoell, 1982; Sheldon, 1982). Conversely, factors associated with high persistence include full-time status, traditional college age, moderate work commitments, high academic expectations (Cohen, Brawer, & Bensimon, 1985), informal interaction with faculty (Gilbert & Gomme, 1986; Lunneborg & Lunneborg, 1986), and supportive institutional environment (Boshier, 1971; Cope & Hannah, 1975; Pascarella, 1986).

There have been few Canadian studies of attrition, but the experience in British Columbia suggests that the problem may be just as serious as in the United States (British Columbia Ministry of Advanced Education and Job Training, 1987). Attrition is detrimental to the institution because it represents a loss of income and a wastage in training and may also be a sign of institutional failure. For the student, attrition may be personally traumatic causing frustration, loss of self-esteem, shattered career plans, and lowered lifetime earnings.

Students may be most attrition-prone at the point of transfer when they face problems associated with moving, in addition to any continuing academic difficulties. For some the temptation to withdraw is too great to overcome.

The case study reported here was conducted at Red Deer College which was created in 1964 as a comprehensive college with a strong orientation toward university studies. Students are drawn mainly from the city of Red Deer which has a population of about 60,000, but the catchment area extends some 50 km including an additional 100,000. Most of the 6,000 full-time and part-time students commute to college, but there is residential accommodation for over 500.

Although the college was designed to serve students of all ages, more than half the 2,000 transfer program students enroll within a year of completing high school. These students take courses in arts, sciences, education, com-

merce, fine arts, music, physical education, and a range of preprofessional programs. Course credits may be transferred at any time although typically students transfer after two years to one of Alberta's three traditional universities. About 65% transfer to the University of Alberta in Edmonton 150 km to the north, and about 25% to the University of Calgary an equal distance to the south. Only 3% transfer to the University of Lethbridge 400 km to the south.

The principal purpose of the study was to explore attrition-related factors as students experienced the transition from college to university. More specifically it set out (a) to examine the characteristics of Red Deer College transfer students near the end of their transfer program, (b) to determine the attrition rate and related student perceptions, and (c) to identify any differences between persisters and nonpersisters.

Method

Students registered in the second year of the transfer program were mailed a questionnaire in March 1987. A response of 160 (65.5%) was obtained. (A possible explanation for the lower-than-anticipated response rate was the administration of the questionnaire around the time of final examinations.) Information which prior research had identified as influencing persistence was gathered.

A second questionnaire was mailed to respondents in October of the same year producing a response rate of 97%. Persisters were identified as those who had enrolled in a university or were continuing their studies elsewhere. The questionnaire elicited perceptions of their transfer experiences. In the case of nonpersisters the questionnaire sought reasons for discontinuance and indications of future study intentions.

Findings

Background Characteristics

The transfer students can be described as a traditional, homogeneous student population. Most were young (62% under 21), single (79%), full time (93%), and were evenly divided by sex (53% female). Although most had some financial concerns, relatively few (34%) were working (average of 13 hours per week). Only 23% could be considered nontraditional in the sense of representing an older population. In this respect Red Deer College is like most other public colleges in Alberta (Vaala, 1988, p. 67).

Academic Integration

Respondents appeared to be well integrated academically, 44% having good to excellent grade point averages. Their modal GPA on a 9-point scale was in the range 6-7. They were generally satisfied with their academic performance, 18% rating their achievement "better than expected" and 41% "about as expected." To accomplish this students spent an average of 35 to 40 hours per week on academic activities divided equally between classroom and private study.

Other indicators of integration were evident: Respondents expressed satisfaction with informal contact with faculty (mean of 3.4 hours per week

from an overall 16.7 hours in college-related activities of a social nature). In keeping with these findings 73% claimed that friendship support was one of the main advantages of starting postsecondary studies at a college.

Intentions and Goals

The respondents appeared to have positive attitudes about their academic futures. Ninety-two percent were planning to continue their studies in the fall; 65% expected to complete their first degree in two years; and 86% anticipated working toward an advanced degree. Few foresaw any possibility of dropping out, and most (68%) believed there was little likelihood of failing any courses after transfer. About half believed they could achieve an 8 or 9 GPA while at university. Respondents were equally committed to their career goals.

Environmental Factors

Respondents were asked to rate, on a 4-point scale, 42 factors relating to their perceptions of the college environment. They perceived most factors to be important or very important. The eight highest in importance were all related to instruction. The ratings of *actual* environment were similarly high or very high. Quality of instruction (mean 3.0) was rated slightly higher than factors related to peers (2.8), physical aspects of the campus (2.8), and support services (2.8). These positive attitudes suggested that there was a good fit of students to college. Eighty percent would have preferred to remain at the College for degree completion had that option been open to them.

Persistence and Nonpersistence

When the above descriptions are examined in the light of the literature on persistence, they suggest the likelihood of a high level of persistence for the respondent group. Such was indeed the case. Only 16 students discontinued their studies at the end of the second year, while 109 transferred to university and 35 reregistered at the College.

There were few distinguishing features in the nonpersister group. Their backgrounds and academic characteristics were similar to those of the persisters, but they showed less confidence in their academic ability and prospects: Nonpersisters had higher expectations of temporarily interrupting their studies (stepping out) and expected to take longer to complete their degree programs. Most were considering discontinuing at the time of the March survey but were planning to resume within three years. Based on group means, nonpersisters tended to rate goal statements slightly lower than did persisters which suggests that they may be less goal-oriented. However, statistically significant differences were found in only 4 of the 22 goal comparisons.

The highest ranked reasons for nonpersistence were “need for a break in studies,” “obtained a desirable job,” and “lack of financial support.” Half the reasons given for withdrawal may be categorized as circumstantial (e.g., financial difficulties, draw of an attractive job, serious health problems, or nonacceptance by the university). Other reasons were attitudinal (e.g., need to rethink career/life plans, or being tired of studying). For those experi-

encing attitudinal difficulties, their time in college may have been a period of self-exploration and psychological development. Withdrawal from studies may have been a considered, appropriate, and positive decision. It is doubtful that any action on the part of the College could have or should have prevented these withdrawals. However, the circumstantial difficulties are conditions which the College should attempt to ameliorate.

Transfer Difficulties Encountered by Persisters

In the March survey, responses indicated that transfer students were anticipating high to very high levels of difficulty in the following: coping with the increased costs associated with university, getting to know the faculty, obtaining recognition, accessing services, securing appropriate accommodation, selecting courses, coping with academic requirements, getting to know their way around campus and the city, and making new friends. However, by October persisters ranked only three factors above the midpoint of the difficulty scale: coping financially, obtaining recognition, and getting to know faculty. Clearly the difficulties in adjusting to university were not as extensive as feared.

Although credit transfer was not rated high as a problem area, 22 of the persisters indicated that they experienced some difficulties in receiving credit for courses completed at the College. These difficulties were attributed to system problems connected with the university registration process, or to inadequate counseling while at college.

Discussion

Generalizing from a single case study is obviously risky. However, this study offers a glimpse of transfer students in an Alberta community college and provides further evidence of the value of colleges as transfer institutions. Two basic issues are implicit in this study. Is the transfer program serving the purpose for which it was designed? And are students satisfied with starting their postsecondary studies in this way? The answer to both questions appears to be an unequivocal yes.

There were surprisingly few nonpersisting students in the transfer program. Ninety percent of the students continued their studies, one way or another, at the end of their second year. Both persisting and nonpersisting students appeared to have been academically and socially well integrated in the College, and they were satisfied with their college experiences. Few significant differences were found between persisters and nonpersisters, except that the latter viewed themselves as noncontinuous students and expected to take longer to achieve their degree goals.

No causal relationships can be determined with certainty, but it is possible that the traditional nature of this College's clientele, their apparent satisfaction with the academic environment, and the high ranking they gave to academic goals all contributed to persistence. Although 86% had some financial concerns, this did not appear to be a major factor in a decision to continue or withdraw. This is consistent with findings reported by Pascarella, Smart, and Ethington (1986) who have shown that financial difficulties are less of a deterrent when a student's other experiences are positive.

While the articulation process between Red Deer College and provincial universities appears to be functioning well, students felt some apprehension about it. They anticipated more difficulty in adjusting to university than they actually encountered. Respondents' comments revealed that many viewed their entrance to university with trepidation, using such words as "overwhelming," "intimidating," "a shock," "cold and impersonal," "the student is just a number," and "too large and confusing." As there is no good reason to enlarge student fears, college counselors may wish to consider ways of reducing apprehension by developing more realistic images and by helping the students accept the transition process as a challenging but potentially enjoyable experience. Reference to the findings reported by Vaala and Holdaway (1989) concerning the relatively short adjustment period may be relevant. Colleges and universities should consider joint sponsorship of an annual orientation program to help transferring students develop positive images of the next phase of their studies.

The Alberta Council on Admissions and Transfers was established in 1974 to develop procedures to facilitate transfer. Through publication annually of a transfer guide, it has made huge strides in removing uncertainties about which courses will transfer and which will not. Despite this fact, 21% of students transferring from Red Deer College experienced difficulties in receiving all the credits to which they felt entitled. Thus there is a need for colleges to ensure appropriate counseling and course selection, to monitor the transfer process carefully, and to serve as advocates for students experiencing difficulties not of their own making.

Generally, the findings attest to the workability of transfer and may be significant for policymakers facing pressures to expand access to degree-level studies through the college system. Also, the study may be of interest to provinces such as Ontario and Manitoba which have no formal transfer programs, but where debate on such developments is ongoing (see, for example, Tausig, 1988).

The question of degree-granting status is illuminated by this study. In response to a direct question, 80% of students at Red Deer College indicated that they would have preferred to complete their degree programs at the College. The case for completing degree programs in their local college includes the preservation of ties and commitments involving family life, work, and sense of community, as well as feelings of pride, confidence, and satisfaction in the college which had guided them into postsecondary education. At the same time, respondents noted several academic advantages of moving to a university. The number of students who would actually remain at the College for degree completion, if this were possible, would depend on many more factors than a simple desire to stay near home.

Finally, questions of equity arise for nonpersisters who may have achieved personal goals while in the transfer program, despite their unwillingness or inability to proceed to university directly. They should be recognized for what they have accomplished rather than disparaged for what might have been.

Conclusion

This descriptive case study of transfer students as they enter and experience the transition between college and university presents a favorable image of transfer as it related to one college. To the extent that Red Deer College is typical of other transfer institutions such as Medicine Hat College, Grande Prairie Regional College, and Keyano College, it may be concluded that the system is working well. The attrition rate was less than 10%, and students embarked on their studies at university with positive sentiments regarding their college experience and bright hopes for their futures. Even those who did not persist expressed satisfaction with the college and anticipated re-entering formal studies some time in the future. Such students should not automatically be regarded as failures of the system. The reasons for attrition seem more tied to circumstances than to achievements in college. The concept of failure in the context of a transfer program may have to be revised to allow for the possibility of achievement of personal goals aside from transfer and the possibility of deferred entry to senior-level studies.

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